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# **USSR Report**

**POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS**

**No. 1044**



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INTERNATIONAL

ALL-UNION SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE EXAMINES INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Conferences Begins

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 May 80 p 2

Article (ARMENPRESS): "By the Leninist Course of the Peace and Security of Nations"

Text On 28 May the All-Union Scientific Conference "The Historical Experience of the Struggle of the USSR for the Implementation of the Foreign Policy Program of the 25th CPSU Congress" began its work in Yerevan. It was organized by the Scientific Council for the History of USSR Foreign Policy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Council for the Problem "The World Socialist System" of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Methods Council for the Promotion of USSR Foreign Policy and International Relations attached to the Board of the All-Union Znaniye Society and Yerevan State University.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia K. Dal-lakyan welcomed the conference participants.

"The work of the conference," he said, "is taking place under the conditions of a complex international situation, when the Communist Party, the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by the prominent party and state figure of our times, the true Leninist L. I. Brezhnev are waging a tireless struggle for a lasting peace on earth and against the threat of thermonuclear war."

The foreign policy program adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress, in marking a new boundary in the history of international relations, gave a strong impetus to the policy of detente, the strengthening of peace and trust between nations. The consistently peaceable policy of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states follows from the very nature of socialism, of the society in which there are no private property and exploiters, in which all power belongs to the working masses, who are vitally interested in a lasting peace for the realization of the great ideals of communism.

Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Narochnitskiy delivered the main report at the plenary meeting.

The years which have passed since the 25th CPSU Congress have been marked by the determined struggle of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the radical improvement of the international climate of our planet, he said. These actions have become today one of the primary factors of world policy, which has a permanent influence on the course of world development and makes it possible to foil the intrigues of the enemies of the peace and security of nations and to advance the cause of detente.

This was achieved in the determined confrontation with the forces of the imperialist reaction, which are not abandoning the attempts to return the world to Cold War times. The period which has passed since the 25th CPSU Congress has been characterized, especially since 1977-78, by the fierce opposition of these forces to the process of detente and by the stepping up of their efforts in the direction of aggravating international tension. In recent years two opposing trends have been appearing more and more clearly in the world. On the one hand, the constructive dialog of the states of the different social systems has continued, the materialization of detente and its filling with a specific content have occurred. On the other, the arms race has continued to spiral, the centers of military danger have remained and new conflict situations have arisen, the attempts at imperialist interference in the affairs of the socialist and developing countries have become more and more impudent.

U.S. ruling circles have begun to be more and more openly inclined to the unrestrained build-up of arms, the opposition of their interests to the interests of the rest of the world and to attempts at conducting negotiations from "a position of strength." The Beijing leaders are also making their contribution to the cause of aggravating the international situation. The hegemonic and chauvinistic policy of Beijing is being interlocked with the actions of the most reactionary imperialist forces. The ultraconservative neofascist elements, which are striving to revive the atmosphere of crisis situations and global international cataclysms, are plainly interested in aggravating the international situation.

By repulsing the actions of the opponents of detente, by exposing and foiling their aggressive plans, the countries of the socialist community are supporting the consolidation of the positive results which were achieved in the 1970's in the matter of improving the international climate and developing the mutually advantageous cooperation of the socialist and capitalist countries. The anniversary conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact nations, which was held in May of this year in Warsaw, vividly showed the indivisibility of socialism and peace. The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, having approved utterly and completely the activity of the USSR delegation headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, noted that the adopted decisions are called upon to give new impetus to the

process of detente. The Soviet Union attaches particular importance to the proposal of the Warsaw Pact nations to hold in the near future a summit conference of the heads of the states of all regions of the world.

The consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is based on principle and is being conducted under the direction of the CPSU, gives the Soviet people grounds to view the future with optimism. Relying on its mighty defensive and economic potential and guided by the proven Leninist principles of international policy, our country is confidently defending the cause of universal peace and the progress of mankind.

Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Dzh. Kirakosyan devoted his statement to the theme "Modern International Relations and the Ideological Struggle."

At the present stage, he said, Soviet foreign policy is waging a struggle for the creation of peaceful favorable conditions for the building of communism in our country, for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood, for the support of the national liberation movement, the development of cooperation with the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America and for the affirmation of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

Under the conditions of the international situation, which has become more complicated in recent times, the forces of imperialism and the reaction have shown their worth in connection with the events in Iran and Afghanistan. The aggressive imperialist and hegemonic circles are striving to frustrate detente and to return the world to Cold War times. The ideologists of imperialism are stepping up their attacks on socialism. The main role is being assigned to the pharisaical appeals to launch a struggle "for human rights" and to sensational campaigns over the so-called Soviet military threat.

On the basis of specific examples the speaker exposed the works of contemporary bourgeois historians, including American and Turkisk historians, which are permeated with vicious anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and the fabrications of falsifiers. Then he dwelled on the problems of the Armenian diaspora, which numbers more than 2 million people. In their overwhelming majority the foreign Armenians adhere to a pro-Soviet line and consider the Soviet Union their homeland. They are grateful to the Russian people--the liberators of Eastern Armenia, who saved the Eastern Armenians from physical extermination. Democratic and progress Armenian organizations and parties support and approve of the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state. Armenians abroad are following with great interest the achievements of the Armenian SSR, regarding them as the result of the correct national and international policy of the CPSU.

The scientific conference is continuing its work.

## Section Meetings

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 May 80 p 2

### Article (ARMENPRESS): "Peace and Disarmament Are the Order of the Day"

Text On 28 and 29 May the section meetings were held at the All-Union Scientific Conference "The Historical Experience of the Struggle of the USSR for the Implementation of the Foreign Policy Program of the 25th CPSU Congress," which is being held in Yerevan. Prominent specialists--staff members of the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, Yerevan State University and other higher educational institutions of the country--took part in their work.

The reports in the first section were devoted to the problem of strengthening the friendship and cooperation of the socialist countries and the historical achievements of real socialism. The speakers devoted much attention to theoretical aspects of the development and strengthening of the cooperation of the socialist states and to methodological questions of the study of this problem. The contribution of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties to the elaboration of the principles of socialist foreign policy and its implementation was noted.

In his report Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Nezhinskiy revealed the constitutional bases of USSR foreign policy and the influence of the Soviet Constitution on the further elaboration of the most important legislative principles of socialist foreign policy.

Theoretical and practical questions of the development of international law and the contribution of the socialist countries to the elaboration of international law problems were covered by Doctor of Jurisprudence A. Yesayan. Yu. Novopashin, a scientific staff member of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences, delivered a report on the formation and development of socialist internationalism as a principle of the interrelations of the countries of the socialist community.

The problems of USSR participation in socialist economic integration and its international significance, as well as the coordination of the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community in the campaign for peace, security and social progress were examined in the statements of Doctors of Historical Sciences I. Orlik, M. Arustamyan, V. Kulish and others.

The members of the second section, which discussed questions of strengthening the cooperation of the USSR with countries which have liberated themselves, examined general problems of the developing countries at the present stage, as well as of the regional cooperation of the countries of

Asia, Africa and Latin America. The report of Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Anatoliy Gromyko, director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was devoted to the support by the Soviet Union of the struggle of the nations of the African continent against all forms of neocolonialism at the present stage, was heard.

Doctors of Sciences G. Starushenko, Ye. Tarabrin, A. Kheyfits and L. Yablochkov and Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. Il'in analyzed questions of the cooperation of the countries of the socialist community and the young developing states in the struggle for a new economic order and for truly equal international, economic and political relations between developed states and the states which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke.

Particular attention was devoted to the struggle of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community against the intrigues of American imperialism in the Near East, as well as for the peace and security of nations in other regions of the world. The speeches of Doctors of Historical Sciences V. Moskalenko, N. Oganesyan and A. Glinkin and Candidate of Historical Sciences T. Deych were devoted to this.

Problems of the essence and forms of the socialist orientation of the developing countries and questions of the nonaligned movement were covered in the scientific reports of Doctors of Sciences R. Tuzmukhamedov and N. Gavrilov.

The third section discussed the problem "USSR Relations With the Capitalist Countries in the Second Half of the 1970's."

In the report of Candidate of Historical Sciences F. Novik, a scientific staff member of the Institute of the USSR of the USSR Academy of Sciences it was noted that the provisions of the Peace Program, which was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress, have been reflected in a large number of joint documents, which the Soviet Union has signed with capitalist countries.

At the same time the socialist states are continuing the struggle for the strengthening and irreversibility of detente.

"The Warsaw Pact countries are persistently striving for detente by virtue of the peaceable nature of their foreign policy," Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Nikonov said. "In the West they have recognized the parity of the socialist and capitalist countries in strategic arms and in overall military strength. Now the center of the struggle of the socialist countries for disarmament has shifted to the area of medium-range nuclear missile forces." The speaker emphasized that the decision of the NATO Council, which was adopted in December 1979, is provocative and is an attempt to evade the provisions of SALT-II. In spite of this, the socialist countries are continuing to persistently support negotiations on the basis of the observance of the principle of equal security.

In speaking about the struggle of the USSR for the halt of the arms race and for disarmament, Yerevan State University Professor M. Arakelyan said

that the USSR and the other socialist countries have persistently defended the taking of additional steps to check the arms race, which was imposed by the imperialist powers.

Professor V. Knyazhinskiy of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated the sharp politicization of public life in the capitalist countries and the increased role of social movements, which are giving considerable assistance to the struggle of the socialist countries for peace, detente and disarmament.

The work of the fourth section, which was devoted to theoretical problems of the history of USSR foreign policy and international relations, began with the report of Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Gantman, who presented a systems analysis of the present stage of the development of international relations and its main factor--the lessening of international tension.

Academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Ts. Agayan dealt with the dialectical unity of the principles of peaceful coexistence and proletarian, socialist internationalism, which govern the Leninist foreign policy of the USSR.

A. Kovalev, a staff member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dwelled on the theoretical and methodological aspects of the activity of Soviet diplomacy on implementing the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

In a number of reports bourgeois-revisionist distortions of the foreign policy of real socialism were criticized, and the intrigues of Beijing's diplomacy, which are aimed at undermining the cause of disarmament, were also exposed.

The work of the scientific conference is continuing.

#### Final Plenary Meeting

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 31 May 80 p 2

#### /Article (ARMENPRESS): "Instructive Lessons of History"/

/Text/ On 30 May the All-Union Scientific Conference, which was organized by the Scientific Council for the History of USSR Foreign Policy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Council for the Problem "The World Socialist System" of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Methods Council for the Promotion of USSR Foreign Policy and International Relations attached to the Board of the All-Union Znaniye Society and Yerevan State University, concluded its work with a final plenary meeting. In three days the conference participants--prominent Soviet scholars of international affairs--listened to and discussed about 50 reports on urgent questions of the struggle of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries against the threat of war and for the strengthening of peace and trust among nations.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences S. Tikhvinskiy delivered the report "On New Soviet Documentary Publications on USSR Foreign Policy and International Relations" at the final plenary meeting, which was held under the chairmanship of Academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Ts. Agayan.

"A little more than 40 years have passed since the start of World War II, but the question of the reasons for its outbreak has not lost its topicality up to this day," he said. "In the history of mankind there has not been a disaster more appalling as far as its victims and destruction. And in our times there is no other question so important as averting a new, incomparably more destructive catastrophe."

All this also predetermines the interest which is aroused by each new publication which casts new light on how World War II was prepared for and unleashed in the midst of the imperialist camp. This pertains first of all to the publications of documentary materials.

In this connection it is necessary to point out the collection "Dokumenty po istorii myunkhenskogo sgovora. 1937-1939 gg." [Documents on the History of the Munich Conspiracy. 1937-1939], which was published by the USSR and CSSR ministries of foreign affairs in 1979.

The Munich agreement of the western imperialist powers of 30 September 1939 on the transfer to Nazi Germany of a considerable portion of the territory of Czechoslovakia holds a special place among the events which led to World War II. It was the culminating factor of the policy of appeasement of the aggressors, which was conducted by the ruling circles of England and France with the support of the United States. The western powers rejected the idea of creating a collective security system in Europe, with which the Soviet Union came forward starting in 1933, and preferred a deal with the aggressive states to a joint struggle against them, in order to direct their predatory aspirations to the east, against the first socialist country in the world. At the same time the ruling circles of England and France were prepared also to hand over to Hitler a number of countries of Central and Southeastern Europe in the hope that he would leave the western powers and their enormous colonies in peace and, what is the main thing, would bring closer an armed confrontation between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. The western powers believed that at Munich at the price of betrayal with respect to Czechoslovakia they had been able to reach an agreement with Hitler. However, the subsequent events frustrated these expectations--the leaders of these powers, blinded by anti-Sovietism, in fact cleared the way for Nazi Germany to unleash World War II and were themselves faced with fascist aggression.

Back in 1958 the USSR and CSSR ministries of foreign affairs also came out with a publication of documents on the Munich conspiracy. The new collection, which was released 40 years after the events, is the most complete collection of documents from Soviet and Czechoslovak archives, many of which have not been published before.

The publication of diplomatic documents has a multiple purpose. First, it is possible in this way to analyze the peaceable Leninist foreign policy of

the USSR, second, diplomats and researchers are receiving a large number of documents, which they are using in their noble work in the name of the defense of peace, and, third, the bourgeois and Maoist distortions of USSR foreign policy are being exposed.

Further the speaker told about a large number of recently published basic works, among which are the 12-volume "Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny. 1939-1945 gg." /A History of World War II. 1939-1945/ edited by Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, and "Istoriya diplomatii" /A History of Diplomacy/. Questions of USSR foreign policy during the prewar years are thoroughly analyzed in such monographs as the two-volume "Istoriya vneshevoy politiki SSSR. 1917-1945 gg." /A History of USSR Foreign Policy. 1917-1945/ edited by Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko and Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee B. N. Ponomarev and others.

A considerable amount of materials is included in the collection of documents "SSSR v bor'be za mir nakanune vtoroy mirovoy voyny" /The USSR in the Struggle for Peace on the Eve of World War II/, in which, in particular, the verbatim report of the talks with the military missions of the USSR, England and France in Moscow in 1939 and other archival materials of Fascist Germany, which were seized by the Soviet Union, are published for the first time.

The lessons of World War II teach us that it is necessary to fight against war before it has begun, the speaker said in conclusion. This problem is especially important at this time, when the use of nuclear missile weapons can cause innumerable hardships for mankind.

Then the results of the work of the section meetings were summarized.

Academician A. Narochnitskiy, chairman of the Scientific Council for the History of USSR Foreign Policy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave the concluding speech. He thanked the executives of Yerevan State University and the scholars of Armenia for actively participating in the conference, the work of which was productive.

"A number of urgent problems of USSR foreign policy and international relations at the present stage were raised and analyzed here," he said. "The main attention of the speakers was devoted to the historical experience of the struggle of the USSR in implementing the foreign policy line elaborated by the 25th CPSU Congress. Special attention was devoted to the struggle of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community for the lessening of international tension, for disarmament and against the intrigues of the imperialist powers in various regions of the world."

Theoretical and methodological problems of the study of international relations were touched upon in a number of speeches. The work of the conference will be conducive to the further stepping up of the study by Soviet scholars of urgent problems of the history of USSR foreign policy and international relations.

INTERNATIONAL

LENINIST ANALYSIS OF CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Moscow RABOCHIY KLAASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 80 pp 3-16

[Article by T. T. Timofeyev, Director of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences; second article of a series: "World Changes and the Crisis of Capitalism (Leninist Methodology Against the Vulgarizers)"]

[Text] In every new phase of the workers' movement, scientifically grounded analysis of both changes in the international situation and the basic processes of economic, sociopolitical, and ideological life within different states and regions of the capitalist world has primary significance to the effectiveness of the struggle of the laborers and of all truly progressive, revolutionary forces against imperialism and its accomplices.

In this connection we can understand why, for example, correct evaluation of the balance of sociopolitical forces in the world arena, of the struggle occurring between different classes and parties, of the dynamics of social movements, and of their real or potential regroupings in a given country is, from the standpoint of Leninism, a mandatory prerequisite for developing valid strategy and tactics for the working class and its conscious advance guard.

Investigating the contradictions of the world capitalist system and creating an integrated interpretation of imperialism at the eve of the socialist revolution, V. I. Lenin deeply analyzed the trends in the international class struggle, and he indicated the enormous possibilities and prospects of the world revolutionary process. He scientifically substantiated the most important laws governing transition from a structure of exploitation to socialism, which were brilliantly confirmed by the victory of Great October and by subsequent socialist revolutions. Leninism proved, not only in theory but also in practice, the need for strengthening the union of the working class with the peasantry on a national and an international scale. Lenin and Leninists validly felt that one of the most important factors of "substantial acceleration of world development" in our century was encouragement of "hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people" to participate in it.<sup>1</sup>

V. I. Lenin interpreted different phases of "the great acceleration...of the world revolutionary movement" in our era concurrently as landmarks in the history of the fall of world bourgeoisie, glutted by imperialist plunder and oppression of most of the Earth's population.<sup>2</sup>

The general tasks of the world revolutionary movement of the working class, V. I. Lenin emphasized, are necessarily modified "by the concrete economic and political situation of every special period of the historic process."<sup>3</sup> Marxism-Leninism demands "the most accurate, objectively testable accounting of the balance between the classes and of the concrete features of every event in history."<sup>4</sup> This requirement is taken into account when the policies of the working class's communist advance guard are scientifically analyzed in different phases of social development.

A concrete historical, integrated approach to the trends and prospects of the world revolutionary movement of liberation is inherent to Leninism. It is dialectically connected with the study of the laws governing development of capitalist society and the consequences of aggravation of its external and internal contradictions in the conditions of imperialism, and subsequently in a situation of growing general crisis of capitalism, and the duel and competition of two systems.

V. I. Lenin treated this problem as one of the most significant and fundamental issues facing the communist movement. Thus it is no accident that on noting in the draft of the new party program following the victory of Great October that "an era of world proletarian, communist revolution has begun,"<sup>5</sup> he felt it necessary to emphasize in particular that correct "understanding of the causes, significance, and goals of this revolution would require clarification of the essence of capitalism and the inevitability of its development into communism, via imperialism...." Only a revolution of this sort, he indicated, "could lead mankind from the dead end created by imperialism and imperialist wars. No matter what difficulties and possible temporary setbacks or waves of counterrevolution the revolution may suffer, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable."<sup>6</sup> Discussing the basic directions of changes to be made in the party's old program back in 1917 (in his outline for his fifth "Letter From Afar"), Lenin suggested this among the most important changes of this sort: "Add that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism"; later on, in the political section of the program, he suggested additionally indicating the "international nature of the socialist revolution...."<sup>7</sup>

In the modern era, as recent world history has demonstrated, growth of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process is now weakening the old world to the greatest degree, and undermining the foundations of the doomed structure of exploitation, promoting constriction of the sphere of imperialist oppression and supremacy, further deepening of the contradictions and difficulties of world capitalism, and in general, aggravation of its general crisis.

These main streams, these most important revolutionary forces that are growing ever stronger in our era and expanding their influence upon the course of world events, are:

the peoples of states in the socialist fraternity, who completed a victorious socialist revolution under the banner of Leninism, created a new, communist civilization, proved through their own experience the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist prediction of the diversity of forms and methods of construction of a new society in different countries on the basis of common laws governing the origin and development of socialism, and expanding fruitful, equitable cooperation and interaction in all areas, based on Lenin's principles of international solidarity;<sup>8</sup>

the proletariat and its allies in the antimonopolist struggle in industrially developed capitalist countries, who are fighting against the reactionary, aggressive policy of imperialism, against the supremacy of monopolies, and for peace, democracy, and real social progress;

the national liberation movements, the mass anti-imperialist demonstrations occurring in developing countries; the peoples of many young states within the zone of national liberation who, repelling imperialism's attempts at pressure and aggression, and striving to eliminate their backwardness and insure economic independence, are relying more and more frequently on the experience of socialist countries and on the ideals of socialism.

In the 20th century, the overwhelming majority of mankind began taking part in the struggle against imperialist plunder and oppression as part of a world revolutionary movement of liberation. Many peoples of the planet have assumed the road of socialist development. Numerous new states appeared on the map of the world. The movement of nonalignment has grown stronger and is now enjoying international recognition; the more than 90 countries within this movement share the basic principle of fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, and racism.

In the 1980's, the world has entered a period of further development and deepening of the era's fundamental social contradictions. Graphical evidence of this can be found in aggravation of the antagonism between labor and capital in the capitalist system, and growth of the contradictions between the broad masses and the imperialist bourgeoisie, which seeks influence not only on the national but also the regional scale, and which claims to retain and even expand its positions in the sphere of its international supremacy. An obvious intensification can be seen in the struggle between the sources of peace and national and social liberation on one hand, headed by the international working class and its advance guard, and the reactionary, aggressive circles of state-monopolist capitalism and its ideological-political defenders and accomplices on the other.

The global balance of power has continued to change in the last decades of our country, and not at all in favor of reaction (contrary to the efforts by imperialists to preserve antipopular, decaying regimes and old orders, for example in some Afro-Asian and Latin American countries). The positions of reaction in the international arena continue to weaken. New evidence of this can be found in the victories of anti-imperialists and antimonarchical revolutions of the 1970's in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, and Iran, the fall of fascist regimes in Greece, Portugal, and Spain, and creation and consolidation of a number of progressive states within the zone of national liberation. The course of world events once again confirms the correctness of the conclusion made at the 25th CPSU Congress that "the world is changing before our eyes, and it is changing for the better."<sup>9</sup>

Strengthening and consolidating the anti-imperialist front, the communist parties are relying upon Lenin's concept of the world revolutionary process. It is based mainly on a scientific analysis of objective and other factors that promote (or to some extent hinder for the time being) acceleration of this process; study of the dynamics of its motive social forces, and of the ways and main directions of dialectical interaction of its principal streams. Leninism has been and continues to be based on the primary importance of an effective union between real socialism on one hand and the workers' movement and the movement of national liberation on the other.

Emphasizing after the victory of Great October that the Bolsheviks "had to assume the entire burden--here we see the greatness of their honor--of leading the world struggle against imperialism," V. I. Lenin indicated for example that in the process of "the world revolution, which, judging from the way it began, will go on for many years," we must find "unique forms of this union between the progressive proletariat of the whole world and the laborers and exploited masses of the East, which are living in many places in the Middle Ages."<sup>10</sup> He said that "while Russian Bolsheviks managed to punch a hole in old imperialism and assume the unusually difficult but also unusually noble task of creating new paths of revolution," foreign communists are faced by an even greater and an even newer task, inasmuch as the revolutionary struggle of the laborers against the imperialists "is beginning to merge in progressive countries with the national war against international imperialism. This is confirmed by the course of the revolution, and it will be confirmed more and more."<sup>11-12</sup> The course of the world revolutionary process in our era, to include the new upsurge of anti-imperialist demonstrations by the masses of developing countries, again and again demonstrates the importance of Lenin's premises.

It is precisely in effective interaction among the principal revolutionary forces of modern times that the prerequisites for further acceleration, expansion, and greater effectiveness of the worldwide struggle of the laborers and broad masses for true social progress, a struggle led by the international working class and its advance guard, the communist movement, is rooted.

It would not be correct to make a metaphysical contrast between the fundamental interests of different detachments of the world revolutionary process. But this is precisely what various sorts of anticomunist activists and ideologists "criticizing" Lenin's revolutionary doctrine are attempting to do.

It is no accident that especially angry ideological and theoretical disputes and political debates are presently going on in relation to the achievements of real socialism, the class struggle of the proletariat in the citadels of state-monopolistic capitalism, and the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Afro-Asian and Latin American states.

As the general crisis of capitalism becomes more acute and as the struggle and competition between the two systems develops, all truly progressive, anti-imperialist forces of this era will in the end unite about the international working class and its creation--world socialism.

The enemies of socialism have an entirely different, unscientific approach to these problems. While the ideological-political defenders of the structure of exploitation (beginning for example with W. Rostow and other bourgeois economists, and ending with Z. Brzezinski as well as other representatives of the Washington administration) do recognize the crises and the difficulties modern capitalism is encountering, including the deepening antagonism between labor and capital and aggravation of the conflict between imperialism and the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in the first place they are trying to represent all of this as "temporary" phenomena that are supposedly surmountable within the framework of capitalist production.<sup>13</sup> In the second place they declare--contrary to historical truth--that "arising, within the world arena,"<sup>14</sup> of peoples in a number of young Afro-Asian states fighting against imperialism and for political and economic independence is an "unexpected" fact. In the third place, discussing the end of the "Eurocentric era in world affairs," Brzezinski and persons sharing his opinions argue that it is now time to substitute it by broad application of "American power" in behalf of restoring "stability" (or, in other words, preserving neocolonial orders that are presently undergoing a crisis). In the fourth place, they would wish to drive a wedge into the relationship between the liberated countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America on one hand and the socialist states on the other.

In the end, however, such designs are drawn in the sand. They represent a reactionary Utopia. After all, the changes occurring in the disposition and balance of sociopolitical forces are elicited mainly by profound socio-economic and political processes, and by changes both in the international situation and in the progress of the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses within the world capitalist economic system.

The changes in the world are also responsible for certain maneuvers in the tactics of imperialism. Back at the beginning of the 20th century V. I. Lenin wrote sagaciously that "the bourgeoisie of all countries inevitably

develops two...methods of fighting for its interests and defending its supremacy, these two methods at times alternating with one another and at other times intertwining together in different combinations. First there is the method of compulsion, the method of rejecting all concessions to the workers' movement, the method of supporting old and obsolete institutions.... Such is the essence of conservative policy...." The other method is the "method of 'liberalism,' of steps in the direction of political rights, in the direction of reform, concessions, and so on."<sup>15</sup> Discussing the profound causes of these forced zig-zags in the policy of ruling imperialist circles, V. I. Lenin emphasized: "The bourgeoisie switches from one method to the other..., and not at random, but in response to the power of the fundamental contradiction existing within its own position."<sup>16</sup> Life itself has demonstrated the importance of this premise many times.

The correctness of these conclusions of Lenin is persuasively confirmed by a number of ideological-political processes which occurred in the last few decades and which are developing in recent years in the citadels of modern state-monopolistic capitalism, processes reflected in occasionally abrupt turning points in both the domestic and foreign policy course of its ruling circles. Contrary to their broadly proclaimed declarations of a turn to both "liberalization" of social relations within bourgeois society and "softening" of the methods monopolies employ for exploitation of the peoples of developed countries, imperialism, attempting to defend its supremacy and its weakening international positions, is in reality continuing to rely on the methods of compulsion, resorting to unconcealed militarist threats, and to brandishing of weapons. It is attempting to blackmail freedom-loving peoples defending their independence and their sovereign right to self-defense; its blackmail techniques include the old "gunboat diplomacy" and creation of "quick response" units. This is accompanied by corresponding provocative propagandistic racket following the spirit of the "cold war" and by other manifestations of the policy of acting "from a position of strength," which has obviously outlived its century. The West has recently witnessed growth in the number of statements being made by known politicians and bourgeois ideologists which are portrayed by monopolistic press as a sign of "normalization," as a reflection of growing "conservatism" or as a growing together of "neoliberalism" and "neoconservatism" in the point of view and politics of state-monopolistic circles.

In fact, however, we find that they are really talking about activating reactionary forces, which, besides everything else, are attempting to capitalize on crisis phenomena in the economy and in politics in order to exert pressure with the goal of shifting the axis of political life to the right, in behalf of preserving the social status quo in various regions of the world capitalist system in the face of the growing strength of mass progressive, anti-imperialist movements.

The first thing we can note is that American imperialism, which has shown itself to be an expansionist, aggressive power, is attempting to strangle progressive popular movements and to restore "reaction in all the world."<sup>17</sup>

An intertwining and a combination of both of the methods of fighting revolutionary forces are quite typical of it. Its attempts at strangulation are making themselves known not only in the Western Hemisphere but also in other regions of the globe.

The most recent of the ongoing provocative acts of the USA's ruling circles and their policy of blackmail and threat in relation to the peoples of Iran and Afghanistan, the peoples of other Afro-Asian countries, and the anti-imperialist movements are new evidence of this. Concealing their actions behind pompous phraseology (at times on the subject of an undefined "defense of human rights" and at other times in regard to the USA's so-called "geostrategic" interests in different regions of the world), the ruling American state-monopolistic circles are in fact beginning to implement new expanded military programs which are to create, according to their plans, a militarist base from which to implement their far-region expansionist, hegemonic designs. Incidentally the representatives of monopolistic capital in the USA themselves sometimes confuse the truth about the real goals and purpose of the demagogical propaganda campaign to which official Washington has resorted with the goal of camouflaging its unjustified claims. Here, for example, is what was written in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the mouthpiece of the largest monopolies, back in fall 1979 (that is, almost 2 months before President Carter's "alarmist" statements of January 1980, which considerably fanned the fire of another outburst of the war hysteria): "While the 1970's were typified by considerations of domestic economic policy (THE WALL STREET JOURNAL admits that this period of "deep crises" was a gloomy time for American capitalism--T.T.), the 1980's were dominated more by considerations of foreign and military policy. There is naturally a connection between these decades. Moreover when the discussion turns to petroleum, they are associated with each other almost inseparably (!!!).... Everything seems to point to the probability of American military participation in the affairs of the Near East in an effort to defend our interests (?!), both economic and strategic. Moreover, judging from everything, an era of confrontation with the Soviet Union is approaching." Under these conditions, in the opinion of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, "the SALT loses its meaning, and the UN loses its meaning..., sermons on human rights lose their meaning. And yet that American policy in which power and the readiness to use it boldly will play a tremendously more significant role than ever before in all of our history will have doubtless meaning."<sup>18</sup> It would be hard to formulate the present hegemonic, aggressive "creed" of the USA's monopolistic capital more directly and openly. Judging from everything, this is precisely the course that the Washington administration assumed at the start of the present decade.

The reactionary, adventurist course of American imperialism is a consequence of the deepening of its internal and external contradictions, and aggravation of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is having its effect upon all spheres of life in bourgeois society. The CPSU Central Committee emphasizes in a decree devoted to the Lenin Jubilee: "The irreconcilable

conflict between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of ownership, the acute social conflicts, the constant growth of unemployment and inflation, the political and spiritual crisis, militarization of the economy, and the dangerous arms race all graphically confirm the validity of Lenin's evaluation of imperialism as the last stage of capitalist society, a society with no future.<sup>19</sup> A demand for a new, more-just, more-humane society is deeply inherent to our era. Emphasizing this, delegations of the CPSU and the Federation of Communist Parties noted in a joint communique: "Capitalism is totally incapable of satisfying this demand. Being a system of oppression, it generates mass unemployment and chronic inflation. Capitalism is a society of waste. It permits the minorities to live in unprecedented luxury while poverty is becoming an increasingly more obvious reality. It transfers the entire burden of its crisis upon the shoulders of the laborers, it forces millions of families to live in uncertainty, and it prods the young into the pit of despair. Capitalism leads to a gradual disintegration of human relations, and in the name of profit it devalues human values."

The fact that capitalism is experiencing an extended period of growing contradictions, new difficulties, and instabilities in the 1980's is being asserted today not only by Marxist researchers but also to some extent by other authors in the West. "The Challenge of the Eighties"--this was the headline of a special selection of materials printed by the New York journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT; the report begins with the following words: "Never before have America and Americans looked into the future at the eve of a new decade with such a feeling of uncertainty as now, at the threshold of the 1980's. The 1970's were typified by recognition of the fact that there are limits to the country's resources, by failures in the fight against unending inflation, and by an energy shortage, not to mention the social conflicts within the society over the growing doubts abroad as to the USA's capability for exercising leadership...."<sup>20</sup> The citadel of modern state-monopolistic capitalism--the United States of America, asserts the well known American sociologist and public figure M. Harrington, "greets the 1980's in a crisis that is undermining the conventional notions of both liberals and conservatives." In his opinion the country "has entered a period somewhat reminiscent of 1919-1933," when as a result of economic and social upheavals in the West "the old orders broke down, and new ones had not yet arisen. Then, at the time of the Great Depression, mass unemployment could be neither understood nor controlled; the same can be said now about both unemployment and inflation together."<sup>21</sup>

The publications of a number of other authors, including works by city bourgeois, reformist, and radical-left ideologists devoted to various aspects of the crises and the growing conflicts in the capitalist world, are no less gloomy and pessimistic.<sup>22</sup>

However, noting certain aspects of the crisis phenomena in bourgeois society, the opponents of scientific communism sometimes explain the situation basically by "mistakes" in the actions of certain individuals, or by "random"

or transitory factors of the marketplace. In other words they are unable to make a scientifically valid, thorough analysis of the real, deep causes of these processes in the subsoil of modern capitalism.

And in fact, in contrast to what Marxist-Leninists can do, the "critics" of the latter are often unable to correctly associate "national" manifestations of the capitalist crisis with the international factors behind its growth. Another point. Many of them are unable to see the dialectical mutual relationship between cyclic phenomena and the series of other crises with consequences that have an especially great effect in the situation of further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Moreover they metaphysically interpret the relationship between politics and economics in the conditions of the modern state-monopolistic complex. Most of the time they interpret the problems of the workers' movement, the antimonopolistic movements, and the trends of their development in the conditions of a capitalist crisis and an aggravated class struggle, and the ways to solve these problems incorrectly--from bourgeois, openly apologetic, or opportunistic positions.

The enemies of Leninism, to include rightist and "leftist" doctrinaires, would like to represent things as if the immortal revolutionary legacy of V. I. Lenin cannot serve as a theoretical or methodological basis from which to analyze the law of governing world capitalism in the era of its general crisis. They attempt to completely discount the revolutionary experience of Marxist-Leninists in the countries of real socialism, mainly the CPSU, and especially to belittle its international significance. Moreover some of them even descend to the following "pearls" of ideological-political feeble-mindedness: "In order to do away with capitalism," one of the heralds of leftist-revisionist "anti-Leninism" announces, for example, "we will consequently first have to do away (!!?) with Bolshevik ideology...."<sup>23</sup>

However, no one will be able to weaken the ideological and political influence of Leninism among the laboring masses (not to mention "doing away" with this influence), or to belittle the colossal international significance of the lessons to be gained from the struggle waged by V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks against imperialism and for an effective, revolutionary solution to the capitalist crisis in behalf of the broadest popular masses.

The main roads of the process of revolutionary liberation are predetermined to the greatest extent by the growing power and consolidation of world socialism on one hand and by the development of the general crisis of the capitalist system on the other. Being different processes, they are nevertheless interconnected.

The contradiction between revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist positions in this issue and conceptions alien to the former lies precisely in the tendency, typical of the latter, for rejecting or underestimating this dialectical mutual relationship.

While Leninism pointed to the maturation of objective prerequisites and subjective factors for the social revolution of the proletariat in its description of, for example, the essence of the era of imperialism and the nature of its conflicts, emphasizing the inevitability of their abrupt aggravation followed by their explosive disintegration,<sup>24</sup> various sorts of reformists and doctrinaires have occupied different positions. Some of them (for example Plekhanov and other national-opportunists who adhered to social-chauvinist positions in World War I) were unable to or did not wish to understand the essence of the class content of the era of imperialism.<sup>25</sup>

Others (such as Kautskiy and his followers, who held "centerist" positions--that is, positions of placation in relation to open opportunism and chauvinism) essentially blurred and "concealed the abruptly intensifying imperialist contradictions, thus in many ways disorienting the workers' movement in West European countries. Dissociating himself from Kautskiy's conception and justly criticizing it, V. I. Lenin appealed for intensification of the struggle by revolutionary Marxists against the "quagmire," and for the unmasking of the "fallacy of Kautskiy's conception on this issue," which he described as "neo-Proudhonism."<sup>26</sup> V. I. Lenin characterized Kautskiy's interpretation of imperialism as follows: "Land-owner reformism: for laundered, sleek, moderate, and well-dressed capitalism."<sup>27</sup>

Imperialism matured as a further development of the "fundamental properties of capitalism in general."<sup>28</sup> Therefore when analyzing it, we must not fail to make use of an important methodological consideration suggested by V. I. Lenin in relation to capitalist society as a whole. In particular, it is typified by "the impossibility of halting economic processes or reproducing them in their former constant dimensions. Only a Utopist...can ignore the fact that it is precisely the 'instability' of capitalism that serves as a tremendous factor of progress, accelerating social development, drawing more and more people into the whirlpool of social life, forcing them to ponder its structure, and forcing them to 'forge their own happiness'.<sup>29</sup> Leninism envisioned and continues to envision social revolution, involving the broad masses and headed by the working class, to be the only real solution of the antagonisms in bourgeois society, the instability of which is growing in this era of capitalism's general crisis.

Lenin's revolutionary dialectics are opposed by the metaphysical conceptions of bourgeois and reformist ideologists. Their approach to imperialist contradictions is often based on vulgar conceptions having a Proudhonistic interpretation--that is, an incorrect interpretation of such contradictions. And it is apparently no accident, in particular, that public figures in Italy such as B. Kraxi began arguing in recent years in favor of a certain "return to Proudhon," to his ideas in the spirit of petty bourgeois "socialism," simultaneously encouraging the workers' movement to "reject," to bury Leninism in oblivion.<sup>30</sup> It would not be difficult to persuade oneself that "neo-Proudhonism," which is presently being preached by reformist "critics" of Leninism, is as alien to scientific, proletarian socialism as are the conceptions of the ideological predecessors of these "critics."

In its union with the world proletarian movement, Leninism has multiplied the power and fighting capability of the working class and its leading organization many times over, it has enriched them with valuable international experience in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy, and socialism, and it has armed them with an immortal, invincible revolutionary theory. The course of international events, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, and the consequences of this crisis confirm the correctness of the scientific, Marxist-Leninist methodological approach to investigating the main contradictions of the modern era and the motive social forces of the world's revolutionary transformation.

Thus the latest fabrications of anticomunist and a number of opportunist ideologists--of both reformist and leftist-revisionist leanings--concerning a "crisis" in Marxism-Leninism, concerning the proposed "doubtfulness" of its fundamental ideological-theoretical and political conclusions of the second half of the 20th century are all the more absurd.

In this case rightist opportunists, for example, debate the correctness of the Leninist analysis of monopolistic capitalism, of the development of the internal and external contradictions, and of the dynamics of social classes in the era of imperialism and at the time of capitalism's growing general crisis, and mainly in a time of growth of the international working class and natural improvement of interaction among its principal detachments. Moreover some of them (particularly that represented by the Spanish ex-communist F. Claudin) have talked themselves into believing that the October Revolution which, as we know, was a brilliant demonstration of the correctness of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, was precisely what generated "the theoretical crisis of Marxism, which still remains unresolved...."<sup>31</sup> Being unable to understand the meaning of what they call "Marxism of the Leninist era," they dispute the very term "Marxist-Leninist science" and the most important conclusion of the communists, that Marxism has withstood the test of history in the present century owing to V. I. Lenin.<sup>32</sup>

Following in their footsteps, other Western sociologists such as N. Pulanzas (who published a series of openly revisionist publications and interviews in a number of West European publications in the 1960's and 1970's), usually begin with appeals for "strict division (?!) of Marx and Lenin" and with the absurd notion that there are "absolute contradictions between Marx' premises and Lenin's theories," and then they naturally go on to a "total polemic" attacking the theoretical, political, and organizational foundations of the modern communist movement, to advertisement of the notions of a "crisis" of political parties in general, of the "wasting away" of the latter's ideological-political functions.<sup>33</sup>

At the same time revisionists--both right and "left"--attempting to dispute the correctness of the premises of creative Marxism-Leninism and the general line being followed by the CPSU and fraternal communist parties, in fact ignore the circumstance that every new phase of the deepening general crisis of capitalism is the product of not only aggravation of its internal antagonisms but also development of the fundamental contradiction of our era--the

contradiction between socialism and imperialism, of further shifts in the global balance of class forces, construction of the sphere of undivided, unhindered economic domination by monopolistic bourgeoisie, and expansion of the scale and the social base of the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses on different continents in response to these factors behind the changes occurring in the world economy and in world politics.

However, some leftist-doctrinaire elements (from anarchist, Trotskyite authors to some ideologists of leftist bourgeois "neo-Marxism," as well as representatives of petty bourgeois extremism), discussing the economic and sociopolitical aspects of the deepening crisis of world capitalism, "abstract themselves" from the fundamental changes occurring in the international balance of class forces in favor of socialism.<sup>34</sup> They mechanically interpret the revolutionary movement in the present phase of the general crisis of capitalism.<sup>35</sup>

At the same time the crisis processes within the world capitalist system may be thoroughly evaluated not only with a consideration for cyclic development of capitalist production (though this is naturally very important on its own), but also in connection with an analysis of the general laws governing world history in our era, laws brought into being by the change in the world's balance of forces in favor of socialism, by the influence of the international situation, and by the growing struggle of the peoples of young states, often the world suppliers of the scarce raw materials and so on, for reinforcement of their political independence and assurance of their economic independence. These factors are precisely what help us to reveal more deeply a number of circumstances responsible for some of the unique features of the dynamics of the capitalist cycle, as well as for the receding effectiveness of formerly employed methods of state-monopolistic regulation of the economy.<sup>36</sup>

The new stage in the interplay of general and cyclic crises, which grew in their intensity in the 1970's, has also had an effect upon the conditions governing the struggle of the working class, and consequently upon the entire social situation in capitalist countries. We can include among the most typical traits of this situation, on one hand, the increasing attempts of the ruling class to extricate itself from its difficulties at the expense of the laborers, heaping upon them both the consequences themselves of the economic difficulties and the expense of measures to fight the crisis. On the other hand we can include the growing preparedness and capability of the working class to repel the transgressions of the bourgeoisie upon the positions it has reached.

Despite the resulting aggravation of the situation, and the worsening of the objective conditions within which the laborers have had to wage their struggle (in particular we cannot underestimate the unfavorable situation in the labor market and its consequences), the organized workers movement has demonstrated unprecedented resistance to the pressure of monopolies.

As a result the general sociopolitical situation in a number of capitalist countries is now defined to a significant degree by the noticeably more aggressive struggle of the working class for its rights and against worsening of its position and the conditions under which it must exist. Among the important distinguishing characteristics of this struggle, we can doubtlessly include the broadening of its "geography." Inasmuch as the effectiveness of the struggle being waged by strikers depends significantly upon its scope, growth of the breadth itself of this struggle has promoted a certain rise in its effectiveness.

Of course the effectiveness of strikes by the proletariat often grew faster than their scope. Research conducted by Marxists in different countries provides a deeper understanding of the causes behind this phenomenon, and it allows us to reveal them more deeply.<sup>37</sup> In particular it is the product of the fact that introduction of increasingly more complex and expensive equipment, the growing stiffness of many production requirements, concentracion and centralization of capital and control, and the growing interdependence of different production operations and spheres of activity have made the modern capitalist enterprise and the economy as a whole more vulnerable to powerful, united strikes by the working class. As a result we often witness cases today in which, for example, a smaller number of strikers can objectively exert greater pressure upon employers than before. And the more closely a particular group of workers is associated with scientific-technical progress, the greater is their "unit striking power," their influence upon various spheres of social life. The growing degree of organization of the working class and the improvements occurring in the strategy and tactics of both the strikes and the broad antimonopolistic demonstrations in general are having the same effect.

Another manifestation of the new phase in the development of the struggle of the working class is that it has started spilling over the limits of the enterprise, the company, and even the sector, rising more and more frequently to a "national" level, and in some cases developing on an "inter-state," regional, and international scale. In this case the actions of the working class and its organization are being aimed more and more frequently not only against the individual employer but also against their associations, against the system of state-monopolistic capitalism as a whole.

As a result, despite the certain degree of nonuniformity remaining in the development of the workers' movement in different countries and regions of the capitalist world, the trend toward equalization of the general level of the working class's concrete demands is becoming increasingly more obvious. That which in the preceding stages of the workers' movement was the fundamental content of the struggle of the proletarian advance guard, and of the detachments of the working class closest to it, has now transformed into the object of the yearnings of ever-broader masses of hired laborers.

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is also having an extremely clear and discernible effect in the sociopolitical area. Many

changes occurring in the economic, spiritual, and other spheres of bourgeois society's life are accumulating and concentrating in this area.

The inability of government institutions to perform socially necessary functions, the weakening of feedback, and the decreasing effectiveness of previous forms (including the old bourgeois-democratic forms) of defending the interests of the ruling class are significant elements responsible for the growing political instability of modern capitalism. Hence follows the ruling class's growing tendency to employ more-repressive methods of administration. The crisis being experienced by government institutions in different countries manifests itself in different ways: as the fall of totalitarian regimes, as increasing fragmentation of the electorate, as the arisal of situations of unstable "equilibrium" in legislative bodies, as growing instability of the governments of many capitalist countries, as aggravation of the contradictions between executive and legislative bodies, and so on.

These processes are making their impression upon political life and the consciousness of the masses in the capitalist world. Throughout the 20th century, and especially after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, consciousness was the product of two dueling factors: the influence of the ideas of a revolutionary transformation of social relationships on a new, socialist foundation, ideas reinforced by the example of real socialism, and the attempts at strengthening or resuscitating obsolete social relations of exploitation that had lost their previous monopoly on ideological theory. The general trend of historic development is leading in the end to a change in favor of socialism. However, this change is proceeding nonuniformly depending on the situation. We know, for example, that during the first postwar decades, attempting to inhibit this change to the maximum, bourgeois ideologists created a "canonized" version of a "neocapitalist"--that is, "modernized"--structure, which was without crisis and which supposedly surmounted mass unemployment and other acute socio-economic problems. And yet the economic and sociopolitical upheavals of the last decade seriously undermined the faith that capitalist society, in its rectified variants (to include "neocapitalist," "neoconservative," or "neoliberal") is in a position to handle the complexities generated by the present tasks of the social development. Concurrently faith in the capability in government institutions to effectively manage such development continued to wane under the influence of the growing crisis being experienced by government institutions. In this case the numerous facts of unlawfulness and corruption, which have become an inseparable ally in the activities of government bodies, were received especially painfully.

All of this also promoted further aggravation of the crisis of modern capitalism's ideology. The most obvious external manifestation of this crisis is the agonizing process of rethinking former ideological viewpoints by a significant part of the society, which had been under the influence of capitalism's apologists. This process varies in time, in depth, and in orientation depending on the social group, country, region, and a number of other additional circumstances.

Nevertheless some of the distinguishing characteristics are universal. One of them is the growing skepticism toward the social structure itself, which was advertised not that long ago as ideal; another is the growing interest in another social system, as represented by socialism. At the same time the intensification of a critical relationship toward modern capitalism among its previous unquestioning proponents, a relationship superimposed over psychosocial stereotypes developed in a petty bourgeois environment, sometimes has, as its result, primitive idealization of the past, which is perceived as "Paradise Lost," as rejection of the progress of human society, and of the fruits of the development of civilization and culture. Arising as a tendency at the "common sense" level, this rejection creates favorable soil for the germination of so-called "neoconservative" viewpoints upon the historic process among certain segments of the population in capitalist countries.

One of the important tasks of Marxist-Leninist science is to deepen integrated research both on the general trend typical of the entire period of capitalism's general crisis and its influence upon the status and the struggle of the working class and the broad masses in different regions of the world capitalist system on one hand, and on the particular features at the national level, in reforms and scale of concrete manifestations of the economic, social, political, and ideological crises on the other hand, as well as on the manifestations of mutual relationships in the present phase of the aggravation of the crisis of world imperialism as a whole. It is precisely an integrated approach of this sort that will permit us to correctly evaluate both the particular, specific manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism in different, concrete historic phases of the class struggle, and in its most important general traits as a whole.

Continuing their analysis of the principal manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism, the fraternal communist parties are comparing and verifying their assessments of and viewpoints on these processes, which in the end is promoting mutual enrichment of collective Marxist-theoretical thoughts. The results may be used to forecast the course and directions of the development of the general crisis of capitalism, its internal political consequences, and its influences upon international relations. This is also important from the standpoint of increasing the effectiveness of the well-grounded, aggressive debate with bourgeois, social-reformist, and leftist-adventurist conceptions which the revolutionary working class and its advance guard--the communist parties--are waging in their continuation and development of Leninist traditions.

The creative nature of Lenin's methodological principles stimulates all true revolutionaries and proponents of scientific socialism to make a deep theoretical analysis of the new problems posed by the realities of the class struggle in the modern era.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." (Complete Collected Works), Vol 45, p 174.
2. Ibid., pp 174, 175.
3. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 132.
4. Ibid.
5. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 103.
6. Ibid., pp 103, 107. See also Lenin, V. I., "Contributions to a Re-examination of the Party Program," "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 32, pp 139-140, 151-152.
7. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 58.
8. CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," Moscow, 1979.
9. "Materialy XXV s'ezda KPSS" (Proceedings of the 25th CPSU Congress), Moscow, 1976, p 3.
10. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 39, pp 318, 328.
- 11-12. See Ibid., p 327.
13. This tendency is blatantly obvious in a number of publications, particularly recent ones by W. Rostow. See for example Rostow, W. W., "The World Economy: History and Prospect," Austin and Lond, University of Texas Press, 1978, pp 561-562, 645-646, 656; Ibid., "Getting From Here to There: America's Future in the World Economy," New York, 1978. It is no surprise that a number of well known Western sociologists and economists, criticizing such apologetic conceptions, (I. Wallersteyn) for example, validly treat them as manifestations of false, trite "liberal optimism" (see REVIEW, summer 1979).
14. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 31 December 1979.
15. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 20, p 67.
16. Ibid., p 68.
17. See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 37, p 193.

18. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 26 November 1979.
19. CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," Moscow, 1979.
20. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 15 October 1979.
21. Harrington, M., "Social Retreat and Economic Stagnation," DIBSENT, Spring 1979, p 131.
22. See for example "U.S. Capitalism in Crisis," published by the Union for Radical Political Economics, 1978; Bosquet, M., "Capitalism in Crisis and Everyday Life," The Harvester Press, 1977; "Is Britain Dying? Perspective on the Current Crisis," Cornell University Press, 1979.
23. Martick, P., "Anti-Bolshevik Communism," New York, 1978, pp xi-xii.
24. Discussing this issue, V. I. Lenin wrote in particular in his article "Russian (Zyudekumy)" (February 1915), that "the era of imperialism is an era in which, as is generally recognized by Marxists, the objective prerequisites for the fall of capitalism have matured, and in which the masses of socialist proletariat have obviously formed..." (See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 26, p 119).
25. Such a negligent doctrinaire attitude toward Lenin's teaching on imperialism, which is in fact a creative development of Marxist economic theory in new historic conditions, or their desire to "constrict" its significance is sometimes manifested by certain modern Western authors, including those who refer to themselves as so-called "neo-Marxists." They include, for example, P. M. Sweezy, the editor of the American journal MONTHLY REVIEW, who artfully seeks out contradictions between "Marxist analysis of capitalism" and "the theoretical works of Lenin," particularly his "conclusion on state-monopolistic capitalism" (Baran, P.A., and Sweezy, P. M., "Monopoly Capital," Penguin Books, 1975, pp 17-18, 75).

Some West European leftist philosophers and sociologists, particularly L. Althusser and N. Pulanzas (who incorrectly interpret the issue of "theoretical" practice and "political" practice in Leninism, thus groundlessly contrasting revolutionary theory and practice), have asserted that supposedly "Lenin was dealing in 1917 not with imperialism as a whole but with a concrete situation, with the market conditions of Russia..." (see for example Althusser, L. "For Marx," Penguin Books, 1969, pp 173, 176, 178-179). At the same time it is well known that V. I. Lenin did make a thorough analysis of the laws governing world imperialism, and that Russia became the key point of all fundamental imperialist contradictions at the beginning of the 20th century.

26. Lenin, V. I., "Notes on Imperialism," "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 28, p 91.
27. Ibid.
28. Lenin, V. I., "Imperialism at the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 305.
29. Lenin, V. I., "A Description of Economic Romanticism," "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 2, p 208.
30. Kraxi, B., "Leninism and Pluralism," SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, No 12, 1979.
31. Claudin, P., "Algunas reflexiones sobr la crisis del Marxismo," ZONA ABIERTA (Madrid), No 16, 1978, pp 91-92.
32. Ibid., pp 90-91. This is also typical of conceptions on "the poly-variant nature" of Marxism, advertised by some people in the West. What we have here in fact is attempts at passing off Bernsteinism and other opportunist trends as "variants of Marxism..." (Claudin, P., Op. cit., p 90; Hobsbaum, E., "Prefazione," "Storia del marxismo," Vol 1, 1976, pp XI-XXIX, Vol 2; "Il marxismo nell'eta della Seconda Internazionale," Torino, 1979).
33. In this case the Johnny-come-lately "subverters" of scientific socialism are also taking up arms against prominent officials of the West European and international communist movement, criticizing A. Gramsci for example for the fact that he tried to keep his thoughts from "extending beyond profoundly Leninist conceptions" and to "apply Leninist strategy to the West." N. Pulanzas stated these "critical" remarks in an interview published in fall 1979 in Italy. It would be pertinent to note in this connection that judging from everything, recent attempts at discrediting the ideological-political legacy of A. Gramsci, M. Kashan, G. Dimitrov, M. Torez, P. Tol'yatti, and other leaders of fraternal parties, who exerted a great deal of effort to unite Leninism with the European and world workers' movements, have become one of the directions of anticommunist attacks by some modern reformist ideologists represented by B. Kraxi on one pole and P. Claudin, N. Pulanzas, and others on the other.
34. Thus, preaching the thesis of the fatal "inevitability" of world wars in our era, some extreme-leftist authors even go so far as to assert that "World War III has already begun," were we, they assure us, to "apply Leninist analysis" to the international events of the 1960's and 1970's. This conception is developed in particular in the book: Chomsky, N., Pitt, Y., and Vigier, J. P., "La Crise de l'Imperialisme et la troisieme guerre mondiale," Paris, 1976, pp 241-242.

35. Such trends manifest themselves in the publications of anarchists and "neo"- Trottskyite ideologists on the "economic and political consequences" of the crisis of capitalism. See for example Frank, A. G., "Réflexions sur la nouvelle crise économique mondiale," Paris, 1978, pp 11-21, 31-52, 77; Roberts, D., "Capitalism in Crisis," New York, 1975, pp 5-6, 95-98, 109-126.
36. For greater detail, see "Uglubleniye obshchego krisisa kapitalizma" [The Deepening of the General Crisis of Capitalism] (edited by Academician N. N. Inozemtsev, Academician Ye. M. Primakov, and others), Moscow, 1976. These problems are also analyzed in a new joint effort prepared for publication by scholars of the GDR and the USSR: "Obostrukeniye obshchego krisisa kapitalizma i rabocheye dvizheniye v Zapadnoy Evrope" [Aggravation of the General Crisis of Capitalism and the Workers Movement in West Europe] (edited by O. Reingol'd, T. Timofeyev, A. Galkin, and V. Paff).
37. See in particular: "Zapadnaya Evropa: klassovyye boi proletariata" [West Europe: The Class Battles of the Proletariat], Moscow, 1978; "Za Yevropu mira i progressa" [For a Europe of Peace and Progress], Moscow, 1978. These issues are examined comprehensively and in greater detail in the previously cited joint research by scientists of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences International Workers Movement Institute.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### FOLLOWING LENIN'S POLICY OF PEACE TODAY

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[Article by O. N. Melikyan, deputy director of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "V. I. Lenin, the Policy of Peace, and Modern Times"]

[Text] Since the time that mankind was able to break the chain of recurring world wars as a result of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two systems, the rate of social development quickened significantly. "We, the Soviet people, and our friends--the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, all who have fought and continue to fight for peace, for relaxation, and for peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his responses to a PRAVDA reporter, "are rightfully proud of this historic result."<sup>1</sup> The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist fraternity, notes the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," have done and are continuing to do everything possible to consolidate peace and international security, and to fight for disarmament and for cessation of the arms race.<sup>2</sup>

It is with a consideration of these global factors of world politics, which affect the fate of civilization, of mankind itself, and of every person on Earth, that the Leninist course of the CPSU's foreign policy is charted. In this aspect the Leninist party's great aggressiveness in the struggle against the threat of thermonuclear war, so that people on Earth would not experience anxiety and fear, and finally achieve the guaranteed right to a peaceful life, can serve as very persuasive and graphical evidence of the party's principled and deeply humanitarian policy.

The untiring efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet government to implement the Peace Program proposed at the 24th CPSU Congress and the programs of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for the liberty and independence of peoples, adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress, are decisively promoting the preservation of peace on Earth. Important proposals made recently by L. I. Brezhnev, ones which advance the cause of disarmament, were clear evidence of the desire of Lenin's motherland to avert a new round in the arms race and to assume a course of real disarmament, and a confirmation of our faithfulness to Lenin's principles of peace.

It is precisely in this way, concretely and not abstractly, that V. I. Lenin posed the peace problem. Criticizing abstract passivism, he said: "Passivist phrases, talk, and assurances, and sometimes even vows against war can be heard with unusual frequency in this world, but the readiness to take real steps, even the simplest, to insure peace, are encountered in most states, and especially modern civilized states, with unusually low frequency. It would be nice to see, in relation to this and similar issues, the fewest possible general declarations, solemn promises, and flowery phrases, and as many as possible of the simplest, clearest decisions and measures which would truly lead to peace, if not complete elimination of the dangers of war."<sup>3</sup>

Faced by the growing influence of real socialism and by the increasing aggravation of internal and external contradictions of imperialism, conservative Western circles are resorting to various political and ideological maneuvers aimed at dulling the alertness of the peoples with the olive branch of peace on one hand and maintaining their positions in the duel with the international workers and national liberation movement, with the theory and practice of Leninism in war and peace on the other. This is why the abstract passivism of some Western politicians is often used as a cover-up for new spirals in the arms race, and why it leads to a policy of teetering on the razor's edge between relaxation and "cold war"--in a word, this is why it is acquiring the attributes of the latest policy of imperialism. The methodology of Marxist-Leninist analysis, of evaluation of events in the world arena from the standpoint of the immediate interests and final goals of socialism, permits us to understand the sources of this ominous policy, and the causes of many, sometimes unexpected processes, zig-zags, and turns in international relations.

An interesting debate has been going on in the American press since the mid-1970's. Some of its participants, complaining of the weakening of capitalism's positions in its competition with socialism, are insisting on implementing an even more stubborn policy of anti-Sovietism from a position of strength, appealing for direct counterattacks against the Soviet Union. They rest their case upon the theory of inevitable repetition of the cycles of the "cold war," the author of which is the not-known Z. Brzezinski.<sup>4</sup> Other authors suggest "taking revenge" for the USA's foreign policy mistakes in a somewhat different way, arguing for the renewal of the foundations of American policy with a consideration for relaxation, "with the help of well conceived and energetic measures."<sup>5</sup> "A Re-Examination of Potential"--this is the title of an article published in a New York journal by Edward (Lutvak), one of the directors of the center for foreign policy studies at John Hopkins University, in which the following deliberate thesis is developed in particular: "The balance of global power is leaning in favor of the USSR, and the United States must undertake decisive efforts to increase its military potential."<sup>6</sup> This is followed by appeals of ever-greater frequency to elevate the arms race to a new level. "Only in this way," said (P. Nitze), "will we be able to go on to serious negotiations."<sup>7</sup>

Noting the fact that the plans for locating new nuclear missiles in West Europe violates the principle of equal security, L. I. Brezhnev declared quite categorically: "No one can expect the Soviet Union to accept the conditions forwarded by NATO, which intends to conduct negotiations from a position of strength. The present position of the NATO countries makes negotiations on this problem impossible. This was all related officially to the government of the USA last week."<sup>8</sup>

V. I. Lenin discussed the need for persistently uncovering the sophisms with which imperialist bourgeoisie covers up the arms race. One small sample of such distorted logic may be found in the "creativity" of history professor (R. Pipes), former director of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, who took on the unseemly role of subverter of Lenin's theory of imperialism, particularly its political aspect associated with deep analysis of the socioeconomic, class, and historic roots of imperialist wars, as well as Lenin's classification of wars.

The organic relationship existing between different periods of time within the single process of history is an obvious factor imparting consistency between our modern reasoning in defense of peace and Lenin's reasoning. "We endured an imperialist war burden which no nation had ever experienced before," said V. I. Lenin at the 9th All-Russian Congress of the Soviets. "After this we endured the burden of the Civil War.... We know, almost too well, the unimaginable woes that war imposes upon laborers and peasants. Therefore we must relate to this issue with extreme caution and wariness. We are making the greatest concessions and sacrifices only as the way to keep the peace, which we bought at such a high price."<sup>9</sup>

Today, now that the Soviet Union, which is gaining more and more power in the world arena, is constricting imperialism's military "safety valve," R. Payps is attempting to ascribe "inborn" militarist "convictions" to our people, a people who had survived World War I, the Civil War, and, in the struggle against fascism, the bloodiest of all wars in mankind's history. The aggressive course of the Beijing leadership is a true windfall to R. Payps' line of reasoning, which proceeds in the spirit of social-Darwinism. This course is the theoretical grounds for the reactionary-bourgeois conclusion as to the inevitability of war between socialist states. This arsenal of the "latest ideas" of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism is brought forward by Payps under the pretentious headline "Why the Soviet Union Feels It Can Fight and Win a Nuclear War," an article presenting a recipe for action against the supposedly ruinous consequences of the positions of those who feel "nuclear war to be impossible for both sides."<sup>10</sup>

As time progresses, the destructive force of war becomes more dangerous. It is no accident that V. I. Lenin summed up this trend with the ultimate question: Will human society be preserved and defended?<sup>11</sup> At the same time he predicted the onset of a qualitatively new historical situation in which the development of science and technology would make war senseless in general.<sup>12</sup> Representatives of many philosophical systems, of course with the exception of their irrational variants, recognize today that peace (and

V. I. Lenin associated the concept "peace" inseparably with the ideals of social justice, human worth, and social and cultural progress) and elimination of wars are the necessary, indispensable prerequisites of the historic existence of nations. The life of the individual and of the human race is interpreted as the central concept among the values of which mankind is aware.

Pays seconds an official representative of the U.S. administration, who in a spirit of irrational optimism shared with monstrous Maoist prophesies, declares that were the USA and the Soviet Union to put all of their nuclear weapons to use, 10 percent of the Earth's population would die, "but when we look at this analytically and in the long range, this would not lead to the demise of mankind."<sup>13</sup>

The very experience of military history and the very realities of introducing the scientific-technical revolution into military affairs, which involve creation of both nuclear weapons on one hand and neutron, laser, biological, genetic, and other weapons on the other, objectively dictate the need for raising the alertness of peoples in relation to those who for one reason or another are incapable or reluctant to make a thoughtful, weighted, sober evaluation of the global consequences of a nuclear war of extermination.

The struggle for peace is typified by the great stubbornness and self-sacrifice of peoples in the countries of real socialism, who are building a vital base for the movement of revolutionary and peace-loving forces; these peoples are marked by a great fighting spirit and by growing solidarity with those detachments of the proletariat which presently find themselves in the most difficult areas, at the key points of resistance to the arbitrariness of the bosses of imperialism's military-industrial complex.

Thus the yearnings for peace of the broadest masses have been undergoing translation into the language of practical actions over the course of several decades.

Thus, despite the desperate resistance of imperialism, international relations are being renewed, and spiritual-political and other forms of international ties are being modified for the better.

Thus we travel a road of reform in world policy, as is evidenced by the very nature of relaxation. "When we say 'relaxation of tension' or, for brevity, simply 'relaxation', " said L. I. Brezhnev, "we imply a state of international relations opposite to that state which we commonly call 'cold war' and which is typified by constant tension that threatens to transform into open conflict at any moment. In other words relaxation means, first of all, the end of 'cold war,' a transition to normal, equitable relations between states. Relaxation means the readiness to resolve differences and disputes not by power and not by threats and the brandishing of weapons, but through peaceful means, at the negotiating table. Relaxation means a certain amount of trust, and the ability to reckon with the legal interests of one another. Such, briefly, is our definition of relaxation."<sup>14</sup>

According to Lenin, a concrete historical analysis of the relationships between revolution and reform can embrace both the problems of domestic policy and those of international nature. The first time we find confirmation of this is in Lenin's draft decree of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee decree on the tasks of the Soviet delegation in Genoa (1922).<sup>15</sup>

Discussing the need for implementing reforms in international relations, V. I. Lenin implied major transformations in the world arena, and mainly the assurance of a sound democratic and just peace. From an objective standpoint, the attainment of this goal, its qualitative content, and its consequences may be extremely profound, significant and, consequently, comparable with social revolutions in terms of its radicalness in the philosophical sense of the term.

This is why one of the features of the struggle for peace in the present phase of capitalism's general crisis is development of the process of liberation and a certain alteration of the ideology of imperialism. Today, its representatives are not so much striving to suggest, into the minds and hearts of the people, the belief that world communism has supposedly been able to develop successfully because of the world wars, something said to be asserted by V. I. Lenin, as they are apprehensive of the development of revolutionary processes in peacetime, especially in an atmosphere of relaxation. Under these conditions, sadly declares Kenneth Edelman, former U.S. assistant defense secretary and presently a colleague of the Stanford Research Institute's Center for Strategic Studies, the "American age" will be superseded in the future by the "Soviet age." What are the real reasons for this fear? "The change in the balance of power," admits Edelman, which revealed itself with even greater clarity in the world arena in the 1970's, leading to a further weakening of the positions of imperialism in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, to growth of contradictions within imperialism, and to a greater role for the communist movement in the international class struggle. Having lost his belief in the capability of the captains of imperialism for withstanding the waves of the class duel, Edelman turns his gaze in the direction of Beijing diplomacy in the hope of activating defense of the interests of state-monopolistic capitalism against the so-called Soviet threat.<sup>16</sup>

We can isolate, from the choir of the advocates of reinforcing relaxation with new pressures by the USA, a sextet under the control of J. Shlesinger (P. Nittse, L. Shapiro, P. Siberi, A. Walstetter, T. Draper, W. Laker, and W. Rostow), former CIA chief and defense secretary, and presently U.S. secretary of power. In a book entitled "In Defense of America. The New Role of the USA in the World Following Relaxation," which he published himself, makes parallels between relaxation in USSR-USA relations in the 1970's and, of all things, the Munich Agreement (T. Draper).<sup>17</sup> Moreover some of the book's authors appeal for the use of relaxation of the factor of political and economic pressure upon the USSR.

This is an issue of colossal, fundamental importance. Predictions, still encountered here and there in the West, of the economic ruin and political decline of real socialism, which find their roots in the accelerating arms race, militarist psychosis, feeble extremist impulses, and the tendency to underestimate the power of real socialism, are associated to a significant degree with misunderstanding of the fact that socialism cannot be frightened either by retardation of the SALT talks or by refusal to deliver a large number of goods, including grain purchased by contracts that have already been assigned, or by cessation of negotiations on a number of bilateral issues, and so on. Real socialism is responsible for a much broader range of tasks than is conceived by bourgeois politicians; it is simultaneously promoting a continuous rise in welfare and growth in the productive forces necessary for the creation of communism's material base and for unification of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, and it is maintaining the country's defense capability at the required level, as promised by V. I. Lenin, achieving important successes in the economic competition with capitalism. This is tangible evidence of the deep wisdom of Lenin's prediction that it is only with "socialism that swift, real, truly massive forward progress begins in all areas of social and personal life with the participation of first most of the population and later all of the population."<sup>18</sup>

Modern international relations persuasively demonstrate how right V. I. Lenin was when he based his reasoning on the unity of foreign and domestic politics. This unity is extremely indicative of both the country alone and the entire system of international relations as a whole. Reading over Lenin's directives to the Soviet delegation in Genoa, it is interesting to ponder over the sort of factors in the interaction of foreign and domestic politics V. I. Lenin emphasized first of all. First, he associated the nature of foreign policy with the social nature of the given state, with the presence or absence of certain classes and social groups within it that are interested or not interested in outward expansion. Second, V. I. Lenin foresaw the need for studying the course and result of the class struggle within a given country in unity with an analysis of the balance of power on a global scale. Third, examining the problems of foreign policy from the standpoint of the working class, V. I. Lenin never divorced them from the problems of the movement of national liberation, an ally of the world proletariat in its struggle against imperialism and for revolutionary renewal of the world.

At the same time Leninism rejected subjective viewpoints expressed by those who felt the East to be "the most prepared" to receive and enact the ideas of socialist revolution. Statements about "compulsive, expansionist Sovietization" of the so-called arc of instability--that is, Southern Africa and the Near East, the Middle East, and Southern Asia, where the ground beneath imperialism and neocolonialism is quite naturally trembling in response to the movement of true national and socioeconomic liberation initiated by the peoples of these regions of the world, are also fabricated and demagogical. V. I. Lenin himself predicted this course of events back at the start of the 20th century, when he wrote that "A new source of great worldwide storms has revealed itself" in Asia.<sup>19</sup>

Life itself demonstrates--and it will invariably prove several times over in the course of the struggle of the peoples of developing countries against imperialism and neocolonialism--how right V. I. Lenin was when he placed so much stress on arriving at real solutions to the most complex economic and political problems that were most pertinent to the experience of the laborers in colonial and dependent countries, and to the basic directions of their aspirations, including a noncapitalist path of development.

The topic of international politics--that is, world relations and relations applicable to specific national groups--was one of the fundamental theoretical problems to V. I. Lenin. He inherited from his democratic and socialist predecessors the deepest conviction in the equality of all nations, in their equal rights to liberty and independence, and in the responsibility they all carry for the outcome of the general struggle of liberation and for revolutionary transformation of the world. Introducing, into the "international scheme" (G. V. Chicherin), the oppressed and the colonial peoples, V. I. Lenin and his colleagues thus significantly broadened the panorama of world politics. This made it possible for the successors of Lenin's foreign policy course, following the fall of imperialism's colonial system, to meet the emergence of dozens of liberated countries of Asia and Africa into the international arena with full theoretical and practical understanding, and to adequately understand the foreign policy course of non-alliance they have declared, one which is making a tremendous contribution to solution of the world's problems.

At the same time V. I. Lenin invariably expressed a share of respect and recognition of the proletarian, socialist tradition of the West, seeing within it the achievement of a high level of social progress. He felt in this case that it was the duty of international revolutionaries to constantly account for, generalize, and jointly analyze new phenomena in the international situation. Today, now that the countries of the socialist fraternity have transformed into a decisive factor governing development of human society, and the role of the international communist and workers' movement has grown immeasurably in world politics, V. I. Lenin's directives have extremely important significance, especially in light of the conferences of communist and workers' parties of 1957, 1960, and 1969, and the 1976 conference of European communist and workers' parties, which adopted a number of documents containing a program of action against the threat of war.

Incidentally it would be pertinent to recall, to those officials and various groups and organizations of the USA's ruling class who are asking the "Western democracies" to resume the language of "cold war" and advocate a so-called re-examination of international obligations, treaties, and agreements signed during the period of relaxation, that in a fight against such a trend, the unity of revolutionary and peace-loving forces in their struggle for peace and social progress in the international arena will not weaken, but on the contrary grow stronger.

As we know, the notion of making international relations democratic was contained in Marx' appeal to the working class to master the secrets of international politics, and to actively fight for peace among nations. The force of this idea is increased especially by the fact that it is an alloy of the logic of theory and the international awareness of the broad laboring masses, and that the values and moral attitudes are compatible, in a scientifically proveable way, with the working class's role as advance guard in the struggle for peace.

The victorious working class must move farther forward, to a truly secure peace for all nations. This Leninist idea permeates through all of the socialist state's foreign policy. "The greatest manifestation of democracy," said V. I. Lenin, "is to be found mainly in the issue of war and peace."<sup>20</sup> Hence what is fundamental and innovative about the Peace Decree in the political aspect is that it was Lenin's first program of peace foreseeing an entire complex of measures of international legal and social nature. Owing to this program, the newly born socialist state was able to show that putting an end to wars and achieving peace among nations was its idea. This orientation in foreign policy, which was developed within the first days of Soviet rule, foresaw respect of the sovereign rights of all peoples and states, to include the right to freely select a social and political structure, the recognition and a guarantee of respect of the rights of man and the basic freedoms, and mutually advantageous economic relations among states.

A document adopted at the Berlin conference of communist and workers' parties in Europe states: "Democratization of international relations and development of international cooperation on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage to all peoples are important goals in the struggle to create an international community free of imperialism and neocolonialism."<sup>21</sup> Communists of not only Europe but also the entire world are fighting for these goals. And one need not be a prophet to predict that this struggle will intensify in the present growing aggravation of the international situation.

Faithful to V. I. Lenin's commandment, communists are striving to reinforce the political conclusion, presented above, on making international relations democratic with impulses of effective policy, revolutionary consciousness, the energy behind the creative activities of the people, and the collective efforts of people of good will. From a scientific and a revolutionary, practical, and humane point of view, this approach to the problems of world politics has a most intense anti-imperialist orientation, and it foresees attraction of all societies at different levels of sociopolitical development to the struggle for peace.

The capitalist camp is forced to accept the challenge of socialism and its allies in the ideological-political battle for the minds of people. This is inevitably leading to growth in the number of politicians and theoreticians seeking ways to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and arguing in favor of an even and balanced dialog with it. Moderate representatives of

the capitalist camp, recognizing the fact that the capitalist system has lost its military and political supremacy and that the positions of real socialism in the international arena have grown stronger, are appealing for creation of a stronger, more stable base beneath peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems. Hence follow the attempts by reasonable representatives of American science and politics to persuade the ruling circles of the USA that they need to tone down their noisy anti-Soviet campaigns suggesting a "Soviet threat," "expansion" in Asia and Africa, "violation of human rights, and so on. The unattractiveness of such U.S. policy is obvious to many reasonable Americans.

Evidence of this can be found, for example, in a series of statements made in reputable press by R. Barnet, codirector of the Institute of Political Studies in Washington; Professor F. Neal, vice president of the American Council for Coordination Between the East and the West; M. Shulman, special advisor to the U.S. secretary of state; political scientist S. Cohen, and many others.<sup>22</sup> The statements made by these representatives of the American "brain trust" do not at all mean that they are prepared to concede the USA's position in the confrontation with the Soviet Union, which has grown in intensity at the fault of imperialism. The reverse is more likely: They wish to strengthen the USA's prestige, but by other means, by deepening relaxation, by developing competition between the two systems in peaceful areas of the people's creative activities, and so on.

Imperialist forces, however, and mainly certain circles of the USA, complicated the situation at the turn of this decade in correspondence with their strategic conceptions of initiating foreign policy conflict and international crisis when doing so appears necessary to them.

We cannot ignore in this connection, for example, the highly symptomatic and pertinent reminder by the leader of Soviet communists to those who flirt with such political actions: "If by all of these raids upon our policy they want to test our strength, this means they are entirely ignoring the experience of history. When the first socialist state in the world was born in 1917, our people did not ask anyone's permission for this. Today as well they are deciding for themselves the laws according to which they wish to live. Imperialism once tried to put us to the test at the very dawn of the Soviet Union's arisal, and everyone remembers how that ended. Fascist aggressors attempted to break us in the bloodiest of all wars ever endured by mankind. But they suffered defeat. We were subjected to tests in the years of the 'cold war,' which pushed the world to the brink of an abyss, and which was responsible for one international crisis after another."<sup>23</sup>

The brilliant description of two contrasting tendencies in the approach of different circles of the bourgeoisie and its leaders to resolving international problems, given in the early 1920's by V. I. Lenin, is significantly applicable to those responsible for the policy of slipping to a "cold war" course, of those who dress themselves in quasi-democratic clothing while simultaneously playing their "Chinese card," exaggerating the "Afghan

question," and preaching the need for enlarging military budgets before the end of the 20th century in view of a supposed "Soviet threat." Communists, Lenin noted, are far from indifferent as to the party with which to conduct negotiations--with a "party of peace," be it even the minimum--pacifist, or a "party of war," one with an aggressive orientation.

Even the bourgeois consciousness is far from always impressed by the "parties of war." Arthur Cox, an extremely well known representative of American political science and a former State Department official who can in no way be called a Marxist, states outright that "the time may soon come when the voters will give their vote to the politician who proves to them that our security would be greater if we were able to agree to put an end to the arms race and begin the process of real disarmament."<sup>24</sup>

When one thinks about the essence of such statements, one becomes convinced of their obvious accuracy. And in fact, the desire of many Americans to extricate themselves from the vicious circle of the arms race, imposed upon them on the excuse that it is in the interest of the USA, is obviously as insistent as it is just. But the purpose of broadcasting this excuse remains the same: Expressing, through intentional aggravation of the international situation, a displeasure with the growing strength of socialism's positions, with the rise of the movement of national liberation, and with the growing strength of forces for relaxation and peace.

Revolutionary and peace-loving forces have attained the center of international relations. It would be especially important in this connection to emphasize the depth of a Leninist analysis of the latest trends of world social development--the precursors of a social shift in the direction of socialism. Lenin's theory of social revolution led to a number of conclusions which were subsequently placed at the basis of the Soviet state's foreign policy. Inasmuch as the coexistence of the two opposing socio-economic systems for a more or less long period of time is inevitable, and because socialism is deeply interested in peace, peaceful coexistence is precisely what must be laid at the basis of mutual relationships between the socialist state and the bourgeois states.

Different schools of modern political thought--from systems psychology to phenomenology in the USA, and from neopositivist to neopragmatist schools in the FRG--assert that V. I. Lenin supposedly had no relationship at all to the science of international politics. This is a misconception to say the least. A revolutionary politician, a scientist, and a diagnostician of social shifts and political changes, he did a great deal of extensive, fruitful analytical work in this direction, such that he is having his influence today on international relations. Extending to them his fundamental revolutionary dialectical premises, he developed an integral conception of a policy of peaceful coexistence, which has proven its effectiveness and global significance in practice. Subsequent events confirmed the correctness of his far-sightedness. We cannot forget to mention in this connection that the principle of peaceful coexistence suggested for the first time by V. I. Lenin is recorded within the UN Charter.

The conception of peaceful coexistence or, as V. I. Lenin referred to it, the cohabitation of capitalism and socialism on the political map of the world, was based on an integrated study of political and economic factors. Not the least of them was the realities of international division of labor, which was already developing extensively at the beginning of the 20th century and which made different countries interested in economic cooperation. "There is a force greater than the wishes, will, and resolve of any hostile government or class," wrote V. I. Lenin. "This force is the general economic world relation that forced them to assume...a road of dealing with us,"<sup>25</sup> that is, with socialism.

In this case V. I. Lenin invariably emphasized the desire, and more than that, the vital interest of this country, which was beginning on its course toward socialism, in making coexistence peaceful, in having it accompanied by development of mutually advantageous cooperation with capitalist states not only in economics, but also in science, technology, and culture. This, as V. I. Lenin emphasized many times, necessitated diplomatic flexibility and certain compromises. This approach is especially important in relation to modern problems. As L. I. Brezhnev noted during the Vienna talks, the differences in the social system cannot serve as an insurmountable obstacle to peaceful solution of debatable problems. After all, we cannot evict one another from the Earth, and we will not be able to change one another.<sup>26</sup>

The vital interests of all mankind make it suitable and desirable to have the struggle between states representing different socioeconomic formations proceed peacefully, and not by armed means, to resolve the conflicts between the two systems not on the battlefields but on the beachheads of the political and ideological struggle, of economic competition in ways to improve life, in the capabilities for resolving the most important problems of civilization, and so on.

But the most implacable circles of the reactionary militarists have not abandoned their hopes of eliminating socialism by force. Considering this, V. I. Lenin mapped out a program for maintaining the country's defenses at a level insuring protection of the achievements of socialism. He deeply substantiated the conclusion that socialism would be provided international support from the peoples of other countries, and mainly from the international working class.

Other Sovietologists assert that the principle of peaceful coexistence was supposedly never suggested by V. I. Lenin, that it is contradictory to Leninism, which rests on recognition of the need for wars for the purposes of communism's world triumph. However, V. I. Lenin looked at things entirely differently. No wars, no external factors could generate revolution on their own, he said. He made it clear that revolution needs the corresponding objective conditions: a crisis "at the bottom," accompanied by a crisis "at the top," presence of a revolutionary situation.

Surveying the development of international politics following the October Revolution, it would not be difficult to note that bipolar, in the class-social aspect, relations of peaceful coexistence did not remain constant.<sup>27</sup> Simplifying the situation somewhat, we can establish a number of important stages.

Although the Soviet state declared the principle of peaceful coexistence in the very first days of Great October, as is evidenced by the Decree of Peace, it had to gain a victory over the forces of foreign intervention before this principle could achieve recognition in the international arena. The period of peaceful coexistence began in 1921, when the armed conflict was superseded by establishment and development of trading, economic, and political relations between the Soviet state and a number of Asian and West European countries. As the economic foundation of socialism was built and as the country's defense capabilities grew stronger in the face of division of major imperialist powers into two opposing camps, the role of the Soviet Union in the world arena grew, attaining an increasingly deeper content. The voice of our country became louder and louder in the defense of peace. The global premise that a new world war could be averted and that a system for collective security could be created in Europe with an orientation toward a stubborn struggle against fascist aggressors, with the participation of various antiwar forces, suggested by the Soviet state in the 1930's, had special significance. These were the goals of, for example, the Soviet-French and Soviet-Czechoslovak treaties of mutual assistance. Later, representatives of the ruling circles of the Western powers exerted a great deal of effort to direct Hitler's aggression eastward, against the Soviet Union. The myopia and class limitations of their policy of "appeasing" the aggressor and their rejection of the system for collective security helped fascism to immerse mankind in the most terrible of all wars known in history. The warnings of the CPSU and the Soviet government concerning the impending war threat were confirmed. Nations were forced to endure new trials of war at their very worst, and pass through the Hell of World War II.

The panorama of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world was extremely complex and diverse in the war and postwar years. The scale of its practical application changed. The fruits of this policy can include a certain delay of the Soviet Union's entry into the world war, improvement of its strategic positions in this connection, and, finally, the fact that the USSR was able to avoid fighting on two fronts; and when the Great Patriotic War began, it was able to assume leadership over the anti-fascist alliance of states with different social structures, cementing it together by the unprecedented mass heroism of the Soviet people and their military efforts. The realities are such that the framework of scientific-technical and cultural ties between the USSR on one hand and England and the USA on the other broadened significantly in the course of military cooperation, and the possibility and effectiveness of solving the most complex foreign policy problems associated with postwar peace was demonstrated. It is indicative that members of the anti-Hitler coalition were victorious over their common enemy, despite differences in the positions that made the countries different.

However, the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different structures has nothing in common with "freezing" the social status quo. In both the past and today, the irreversibility of revolutionary changes can be considered irrefutably proven. Practice has also demonstrated the reactionary nature of attempts to contrast qualitatively new achievements of social development--arising of the world socialist system, multiplication of the revolutionary potential of the international working class, and the progress of the movement of liberation--with imperialist doctrines of "deterrence," "liberation," "repulsion of communism," "brinkmanship," "mass retaliation," and "flexible response"--in a word, all that had been typical of a more than 20-year period of "cold war."

When we survey the events of this period, our mind's eye is caught by a truly grand picture of the struggle of socialist countries in behalf of solution of the most complex world problems: liquidation of imperialism's monopolies in the production of new types of arms; improvement of economics, science, technology, welfare, and culture. Having assumed a course toward socialism and communism, our countries combined firm repulsion of aggression with a constructive line oriented at resolving pressing international problems, with successive implementation of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of states having different social structures, and with performance of international duty. These problems were resolved with a tremendous application of effort.

All who treasure peace and a transition from "cold war" to relaxation of international tension, to development of normal relations between the states of the two systems, and to the West's practical recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence received the first half of the 1970's with great satisfaction. The Soviet Union initiated this step, successively implementing the Program of Peace adopted by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. "The transition from 'cold war,' from an explosive confrontation between two worlds to relaxation of tension," emphasized L. I. Brezhnev, "was associated mainly with changes in the balance of power in the world arena. But effort had to be exerted so that people--and especially those guiding the policies of the states--would get used to the idea that the natural state of things is not brinkmanship but negotiation on debatable issues, not confrontation, but peaceful coexistence."<sup>28</sup>

Given the certain degree of arbitrariness in breaking down development of peaceful coexistence into periods, its uneven course--one containing rises, falls, and subsequent rises--quite obviously attests to the presence of certain laws predetermining further development of Lenin's conception of peace, together with deepening of its content.

Today, despite the destabilizing influence the USA is having on the entire international situation, there is a growing tendency to establish fruitful relations between capitalist and socialist countries on the basis of the foreign policy experience of the past decade--from the first steps toward improvements in mutual relationships, to extensive interaction in

various areas of world politics and economics. The European conference in Helsinki, such a noteworthy one in the history of international relations, was the starting point of this movement.

Although the USA, capitalizing upon events in Afghanistan, is attempting to block international efforts at reducing military danger, at strengthening peace, and at limiting the arms race--in other words, block that in which mankind is vitally interested--this will in no way break the will of the people to continue to move in this positive direction in world affairs, a direction aptly described by the term "relaxation." We know that West Europe and Japan are troubled by the USA's desire to draw them into confrontation with the Soviet Union and thus ruin their relations with it, relations which in the last decade have resulted in many useful advances. Consequently new complications are to be expected in the USA's foreign policy.

Imperialism has not changed its nature. In this connection we cannot fail to note how persistently the USA is attempting to implement its plans of deploying new American nuclear missiles in West Europe. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin" reads: "Militarist and reactionary circles are activating their efforts against relaxation, they are trying to alter the balance of power in their favor, they are spurring on the arms race, they are attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and they are trying to suppress peoples' movements of liberation. The leadership of China, which is pursuing a Big Power, hegemonic policy hostile to peace and socialism, is a direct accomplice of imperialism."<sup>29</sup>

But the forces of peace and socialism have one possibility--one that has already been tested in the practice of the struggle for relaxation--that of neutralizing the militarist fervor of imperialism and its accomplices, and consciously pursuing fundamental reconstruction of world politics on a democratic basis. "The USSR, socialist countries, and all peace-loving forces of the planet are persistently fighting to make relaxation the leading trend in international relations, to supplement political relaxation by military relaxation."

We still have to travel a long and probably hard road before making political relaxation a reality, before it is joined by military relaxation--that is, before it becomes sound and universal. Along this road we will encounter both the joys of victory and the desperate attempts at turning the course of peaceful coexistence in the direction of "cold war." But mankind is marching toward its bright future, and it will inevitably come to it through confirmation of Lenin's ideas about a stable peace on Earth as the natural form of life for all peoples. And this will be the greatest monument to V. I. Lenin--a great scholar, revolutionary, and government official, who made an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of building a new system of international relations.

FOOTNOTES

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25. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, pp 304-305.
26. See ZA RUBEZHOM, No 26, 1979.
27. See for example Inozemtsev, N. N., "Leninskiy kurs mezhdunarodnoy politiki KPSS" [The CPSU's Leninist Course of International Politics], Moscow, 1978; Dobrosl'evskiy, M., "Voprosy teorii i praktiki mirnogo sotsushchestvovaniya. Filosofiya. Ideologiya. Politika" [Issues in the Theory and Practice of Peaceful Coexistence. Philosophy. Ideology. Politics], Moscow, 1976; Tomashevskiy, D. G., "Leninskiye idei i sovremennoye mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya" [Lenin's Ideas and Modern International Relations], Moscow, 1971, etc.
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INTERNATIONAL

ERNST GENRI ON FASCIST BASIS OF CHINESE POLICIES

Moscow YUNOST' in Russian No 3, Mar 80 pp 95-97

[Article by Ernst Genri: "From Whom Are they Learning?"]

[Text] In our time in the world beyond the borders of the People's Republic of China there is not, probably, even one serious person, no matter what his own convictions are, who would not be astonished day after day by the policies of China.

How can we understand this policy if we take it as a whole, and do not regard it in bits and pieces and by the official statements from Beijing? Its great-power aims are already clear, but what is rooted behind them? To what camp should we attach the present Chinese leaders, who are still calling themselves communists?

Following their actions and utterances, a contemporary at times seems to recall something. What is it, exactly?

We will not seek certain political definitions here, we will not begin to invent names. But everyone has the right to make these or other comparisons, looking at the Chinese scene. Comparisons often explain something.

It is said that the Maoists are following in the footsteps of the old Chinese Emperors and Mandarins, who ruled hundreds of years ago. To some degree, despite the huge difference in time this, undoubtedly, is correct. Any person interested in history can easily verify this. The present Chinese militarism with its plans to create an Asian super-power and crush neighboring peoples actually in many ways is continuing the policy of the feudal lords of the "heavenly empire." These people also consider themselves called upon to be the rulers of the Earth. There are few who would argue about this now, if you speak of informed observers.

But it is possible to note something else, just as distinctly: the increasingly stronger resemblance between Maoist policy and recent phenomena which took place on a completely different continent--in Europe.

Yes, exactly there. The more that you look at today's Maoist China, the more this similarity strikes you, although it is not so simple for everyone to believe this at once.

Take, for instance, the foreign policy of China. Its manifest aim, as has already been said, is hegemony over Southeast Asia, then over the Asian continent, and later, apparently, also over other parts of the globe. "We must conquer the globe," Mao Zedong said frankly once to his attendants. "Our objective is the whole world... With regard to work and battles then, in my opinion, most important is the world, where we are creating a mighty power. It is necessary without fail to be imbued with such decisiveness."

Now in Beijing they are not saying this aloud. But as before they are thinking in this way and preparing themselves.

Who, not very long ago, four decades ago in all, set the same tasks before itself in Europe?

The answer is known to every schoolchild: German fascism.

For Hitler and his Nazi party world hegemony of the "millenial" German Reich was the ultimate goal of all strivings, of all calculations. For the sake of this they unleashed the second world war. How is the question being raised now in Beijing? A third world war should bring China world hegemony. It is not difficult to notice the similarity of one plan with the other. There is a difference in geography and in time besides.

Let us look further. In the course of execution of this same hegemonic plan China can today unquestionably be called the most anti-Soviet state in the world. This is also generally known. Practically this is not concealed even by the Maoists themselves, who not very long ago officially declared their refusal to continue the Soviet-Chinese Agreement on Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid, concluded in 1950.

Which state was anti-Soviet power No. 1 in the 30's and 40's? Fascist Germany. Is this an accidental coincidence?

It is possible to cite concrete evidence of the correctness of such a comparison. Who at the present time is becoming the chief initiator of attempts to create a "global" alliance against the USSR? China, joining ranks with American imperialism, with NATO, with the Japanese militarists, with reactionary forces no matter where they are.

Who in September 1938 at a sinister conference in Munich undertook persistent attempts to bring the matter to such an international anti-Soviet agreement? Hitler and Ribbentrop. This has been written in black and white in the protocols of history, and these lines will not be erased. In other words, Deng Xiaoping is following a well-trodden path.

What "new" thing did Maoism contribute to the domestic policy of the People's Republic of China? One thing above all: idolization of its supreme head, the "great helmsman," Mao Zedong. They bowed before him and bow before him to this day as some supernatural essence, standing above all of humanity.

But even this idea, if you look back in the past, is borrowed from someone else. Among them it was called the cult of the Führer and in the course of 12 years it was absolutely compulsory for the whole population of the Reich. Even now, 35 years after when utterly defeated by the Soviet army, having hidden himself in a basement, Hitler died by suicide--even today the neofascists and other reactionaries in West Germany consider him to be a demigod and flock to the movie theaters to see films glorifying him.

Let us be convinced again. Before us are various countries with a completely different history, with peoples completely unlike one another, with an as if completely different, even "opposite" official philosophy of leadership. But meanwhile the parties resemble one another again in the cult of the supreme being, that is, in essence, in the idea of an absolute, autocratic monarchy.

Let us turn now to a completely different aspect of life in China--to the position and education of the youth. This is a very important topic, it touches the future, and in the last quarter of a century quite a bit has become known about it.

The policy of the Maoist leaders here is two-faced. On the one hand for years the Chinese youth have been worn down in the most merciless way. The young boys and girls are sent in a crowd from the cities to the countryside, where they are forced to work on the fields up to 16 hours and more per day, subsisting on hunger rations. This is a matter of tens of millions. Out of Beijing and its suburbs alone 90 percent of the educated youth had been dispatched by the end of 1974. Recently around 2 million have been sent from the cities each year.

At the same time the soul of the Chinese youth is being worn out so uninteruptedly. Quite recently they were forced to learn by heart whole pages from the works of Mao Zedong, they were prevented from learning as they should, they were not permitted to become acquainted with true culture, and they were forced to make penitential confessions. Even now they are not permitted to think with their head, they are followed as before at every step, and the bold ones are arrested. The Chinese youth simply knows no rest.

One Chinese student who escaped abroad said: "When given even any freedom of choice, the first thing we choose is the freedom of silence." There is not the slightest doubt that they are afraid of the young in modern China.

But there is another part of the same picture. The Maoists have done everything in order to poison and demoralize the Chinese youth, to teach it cruelty, to inculcate in it purely hooliganistic traits.

The Chinese people, undoubtedly, will never forget how the hong wei bing, trained by Maoist functionaries, behaved in the years of the "cultural revolution," and what they did. About many of them it was possible to say frankly that they lost the human aspect. Here, for instance, is how certain slogans of these minors sounded, addressed to the Chinese intelligentsia: "We will not be gentle with you; you have smelled everything up, only rot is left from you. We despise you, we will hit, we will destroy..." "We will beat their dog's heads. Let our bayonets drink their blood." "So that they smash their brains. Break all their bones."

This was said not only in the da zi bao [big character posters], but also in person to famous scientists, writers, poets, teachers.

Whose language is this? Who in Europe some time ago taught to speak this and to do these things? The "Hitler jugend," the fascist youth in old Germany.

Here are the documented words of Hitler, said to one of his then adherents: "We will raise youth before whom the world will shudder, youth who are sharp, exacting, cruel. I want this. The youth should possess all these qualities, it should be indifferent to suffering. It should not have any weakness, no tenderness. I want to see in its gaze the brilliance of a beast of prey."

These were not just words. This is how many of the ranks of the "Hitler Jugend" became, although not all. These were true "beasts of prey." It has been established, for instance, that in regions seized by the Hitlerites in a number of cases they turned small children into shooting targets. They were specially instructed to remove from there the children from 10 to 14 years of age, in order to make slaves out of them.

The very head of "Hitler Jugend," Baldur von Shirach, a former student to whom all the young boys and girls in the Reich were subordinate, declared at the court over the chief war criminals in Nuremberg on 24 May 1946 literally: "My guilt consists in that I trained these youth for a person who was a killer, who destroyed millions of people." Frightened of the gallows, this trapped animal spoke the truth.

But we are not interested in the psychology or the pathology of Hitler and von Shirach. Here another question is important: by what, except the phrases, did the training of the hong wei bing in China differ from the training of the "Hitler Jugend?"

Are the youth in Beijing regarded much differently today than they were regarded in the Third Reich? The spiritually and morally mutilated, disfigured youth are produced--for what?

The answer in both cases, in essence, is the same: in order to cast them at the suitable moment into the fire of world war, unleashed in order to gain dominance over the globe. There is no true difference in the approach.

It would be possible to continue the list of such political "coincidences," but enough has been said. It is clear that there can be no question here of the "accidental" similarities: one side learns from the other.

It is clear that Macism consciously, although hiddenly, is going to the most frightful political school which ever existed in our century.

And it is not at all accidental again that at one time translated in China for the privileged Macists were the works of Goebbels, the chief ideologist of Hitlerism.

Everything indicates that the experience of German fascism both in foreign and domestic policy is being studied in the most careful way by the Beijing rulers. They are taking what they can from the Hitlerites, hoping for dividends for themselves. The matter is not simply in that "extremes meet." The matter is in that neither these nor the others have any kind of principles except for a truly frenzied thirst for power over the world.

I know that, possibly, for some it is not so easy to believe in this similarity. Some call themselves fascists, these call themselves "communists." Logically speaking, a bottomless abyss should gape between them.

But there is not one, and indeed the matter is not in the names, not in the painted signs. It is a matter of the essence, covered by signs. And the main point stares us straight in the eye. In front of us are many indisputable facts, such which no one is in a position to deny.

Modern reality confirms that it is possible at the top of one's voice, straining from hoarseness, to call oneself leftist, "extreme leftist," but to move more and more to the right. Another thing is just as conceivable: for the rightists to praise the "extreme leftists" to the skies. Exactly this has happened in our time. It is known that Macism now is enjoying unprecedented popularity in fascist circles throughout the world, especially among the neo-nazis.

Just one example. Back in 1966, soon after the start of the "cultural revolution" in China and the unbridled anti-Soviet demonstrations in Beijing, an article appeared in the leading Munich neo-fascist newspaper DEUTSCHE NATIONAL ZEITUNG UND SOLDATEN ZEITUNG under the significant heading "Peking--Moscow--Bonn." In the article it was explained excitedly "why we in the FRG have no basis whatever to be outraged on the subject of the demonstrations in front of the Soviet embassy and the 'anti-revisionism' in China."

Insisting that in Bonn they were taking advantage of a "rare favorable political constellation," and stressing that the ... to be made by China

to West Germany "far surpass everything that we have accepted in negotiations with the eastern bloc" (that is, with countries of the Warsaw Pact, -- E.G.), the fascist newspaper exclaimed with delight: "When after all has such a proposal come to us from out of the blue!"

It was explained here for unsophisticated readers that it is not at all necessary to be afraid of the "cultural revolution" in China, for all in all it will only destroy the "hardened traditions and follies of superstition," and "such things will never occur without destroying some pottery." This was a clear enough hint that something similar had occurred also in Hitlerite Germany and, consequently, there was nothing bad in this.

This is how the neo-nazis regarded the Maoists during the life of Mao Zedong. So, even with still greater sympathy, this is how they regard them now. For namely on China, and no longer only on America, are the revanchists in the FRG now placing their most secret hopes. It is reaching the point where considered to be the greatest politician of modern times after Hitler in their circles is frankly Mao Zedong and they often openly write about this. On 1 November in 1978 the same Munich Nazi newspaper proclaimed: "With China against the Soviets--in this is the world political chance, especially for us, the Germans."

Of course, such a "similarity of souls" cannot but have somewhere in its very depths, besides purely political roots, also class roots. And, in fact, they do exist. It is not difficult to detect them.

Hitlerism at one time depended to a considerable degree on the petty bourgeois strata, and in its program it directly reproduced the petty bourgeois ideology.

There is now no longer any doubt that the Maoists, in distinction to the honest internationalists in the ranks of the Chinese communist party, have depended from the very beginning not on the working class, but on the backward Chinese countryside. They were victorious within the Chinese Communist Party namely because they consciously flooded it with non-proletarian, petty bourgeois elements. The present hegemonic plans of Beijing fundamentally originate also from these same forces.

Wherever the class threads are alike, political union is not far away. This is why there is nothing surprising in the "similarities" between fascism and Maoism at all, in essence.

Yes, the modern Chinese militarism, dreaming of a frenzied anti-Soviet dance on the edge of a volcano, had its own legitimate predecessors. Affecting the Maoists from the depths of the history of China itself are the shadows of the Emperors. Other shadows closer to our time have joined them.

But is it possible to build a future great nation on a policy dictated by the shadows of bankrupt tyrants?

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INTERNATIONAL.

ACADEMICIAN NOTES POPE'S CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 20 May 80 p 2

[Article by I. Grigulevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Adapting to Reality--Religion in the Contemporary World"]

[Text] In our time Catholicism, as all the other religions, constitutes a rather complex, contradictory, heterogeneous phenomenon and is feeling the effect of rapidly changing social-political, culture and other factors in the development of the people's social life.

Although the Catholic Church from time immemorial has garbed itself in the robe of "defender" of the popular masses, it has actually served the interests of the propertied, ignoring the desire of ordinary people for freedom and a better life. Therefore it is not at all surprising that following the victory of Great October, Catholicism mounted the platform of hostility to socialism and to the Soviet Union, ostensibly threatening "Christian civilization." In the end, such a position pushed the Catholic Church hierarchy into the embrace of fascism and in the postwar years transformed it for a long time into an instrument of the "cold war." The alliance with the more reactionary groups of contemporary imperialism has led Catholicism into a blind alley.

The now deceased Pope John XXIII, who departed from the aggressive "Atlantic" course of his predecessor Pius XII, came out in defense of peace, for detente and disarmament. It is namely he who displayed the initiative of convoking the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, the decisions of which heralded the departure of the Catholic Church from its traditional ultra-conservative orientation. The policy adopted by the council came to be called one of renewal and its proponents--renewers.

But serious differences among the higher clergy are hindering the realization of Vatican II. John XXIII's successor Paul VI (1963-1978), although he considered himself as a renewer, more frequently showed a tolerance in regard to the opponents of church reforms who occupied under him many key positions in the Vatican. Numerous groups sprang up in the ranks of the

Catholic clergy after the council that demanded of the Vatican and the church hierarchy democratization of church life and a more decisive policy of cooperation with progressive forces.

Pope Paul VI's successor was the Patriarch of Venice Cardinal Albino Luciani. In distinction to his distinguished predecessors, he was the son of a socialist worker. Although he was considered to be a conservative, the fact that Luciani assumed the name of John Paul indicated that he had the intention of following the course of renewal of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. But the new pope died suddenly 33 days following his election.

The again convoked conclave (Council of Cardinals) elected to the post of head of the Catholic Church the Polish Cardinal Karo Wojtyla, who assumed the name of John Paul II. This caused a sensation because a non-Italian had been chosen to the papal throne for the first time in 456 years and, moreover, a man who represented the clergy of socialist Poland.

Almost one and a half years have elapsed since the election of the new pope. What can be said of his work in this relatively short time?

In distinction to his predecessors, the new pope has shown an enviable mobility. He has already visited the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Poland, Ireland, the United States, Turkey and many places in Italy. He has gained thereby the sobriquet of "itinerant-pope."

The pope is exceptionally active; during his trips abroad, he makes several appearances a day. There is hardly a question that he has not touched on. And still it is difficult so far to find in his speeches anything new compared to the enunciations of his predecessors.

The declarations of the pope made at the time of his trip to Poland provide a basis for thinking that he supports the policy of John XXIII, who gave a kind of ideological basis for the need of the cooperation of the Church with the socialist state. Inasmuch as the practice of socialism is aimed at the attainment of good aims, it would mean that both Catholics and Marxist Atheists can work together for the benefit of people.

John Paul II says many things exposing the ulcers of capitalism, expresses sympathy with the suffering and the poor, discusses social injustice and calls upon government to take steps to eliminate social inequality. Such appeals have been made by the Church earlier, but the nature of the bourgeois system has not changed and is not changing as a result of this regardless of the appeals made to the conscience of exploiters. But the Vatican also carries a large measure of responsibility for that same social inequality, which it so loudly condemns, as it itself is a partner of the largest monopolist companies of the West. There is little chance that the Vatican would every publicly disclose the sources of its revenues or make public an enumeration of the companies in whose activities it participates.

In his speeches John Paul II frequently touches upon questions of international policy. Here it should be noted that the Pope has said many useful things in favor of peace, disarmament and against wars and armed conflicts. But it would be hard to find even a hint of condemnation of the aggressive militaristic aspirations of the United States, which is responsible for the present aggravation of the international atmosphere.

In his journey to Mexico, John Paul II condemned the participation of the Church's priests in the liberation movements of their countries and rejected their attempts to justify such participation with quotations from the Gospels. The Pope stated that the duty of the Church's priests is to pray and not to engage in politics. But observers noted that the Pope for some reason did not include that part of the clergy which has attached itself to rightist political groups.

Such a position on the part of the Pope does not suit a significant part of the Latin-American Catholic priests, who decisively are against dictator regimes and in favor of social changes in the interest of the peoples. The so-called "rebellious" church of Latin America condemns the fascist dictatorship in Chile and took part in the overthrow of the U.S. protege Somosa in Nicaragua.

For their democratic views and activities, many priests in Latin America have been subjected to repression or died from torture. Among those recently killed by hired murderers is the Catholic Archbishop of San Salvador Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was known for his speeches against the coercion and terror of the fascist bandits.

You cannot help bring to mind here American President Carter, who zealously comes out in defense of human rights in socialist countries but does not have a word to say in condemnation of the persecution of priests in Latin America. Such "forgetfulness" is no accident. It has been pointed out in the foreign press repeatedly that the responsibility for the committed crimes together with local reaction lies with the CIA. It is the one that "directs" and actually superintends the repressive organs of the dictator regimes.

The dogged silence of the Pope concerning the bloody evil deeds of Pinochet and other fascist dictators whose victims have been many priests evoked pointed protest and dissatisfaction among Latin-American Catholics. Toward the end of 1979 under the pressure of the clergy, the Pope was nonetheless obliged to speak of violations of human rights in Chile but at the same time let loose attacks against Czechoslovakia and Kampuchea.

The international press has repeatedly pointed out the desire of the Pope to play the "Chinese card." But Beijing in the years of the "cultural revolution" cruelly dealt with the Chinese clergy and closed all the Catholic churches. Now, however, the Beijing bosses, acknowledging their love for the ruling circles of the United States and other capitalist powers,

are not chary of all sorts of reverences in the direction of the Vatican. Beijing has publicly declared that it was opening the doors of the country to Jesuits and other missionaries. The actions of the Chinese rulers have found a favorable response in the Vatican. The Pope has declared that he intends not only to restore friendly relations with Beijing but is also ready to take a trip to China.

In regard to the intra-church policy of John Paul II, it is quite conservative. The Pope is decisively against divorce, abortion and the use of contraceptive agents. On his instructions, the Vatican has recommenced to set up courts for theologians whose views do not suit the Church conservatives. For example, the Swiss theologian Hans Kung, who denies the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope and a number of American, French, Belgian, Dutch and German "dissident" theologians have been publicly condemned. Even the Jesuit Order has been accused of theological "liberties."

The appeal made by the Pope in 1979 to rehabilitate the great scientist Galileo, who in his day was convicted by the Inquisition of the charge of heresy. Almost 500 years later the Pope acknowledged that Galileo had been unjustly condemned by the Church. At the same time, Vatican's leading figure attempted to show Galileo as an orthodox Catholic and his persecution as just a sad mistake. While declaring of the right of science to develop independently of religion, the Pope at the same time upheld the superiority of religion over science and called upon the scientists to be submissive to religious dogmas.

Bourgeois propaganda attempts to create a special "image"--face of the new Pope, endowing him with eagerness, courage, fearlessness and energy. The Pope is a swimmer, a bicyclist, skier, the author of books, theatrical plays, a poet and singer. That may be. But the real results of his work so far are most meager. The complex, contradictory processes, encompassing the milieu of Catholicism are developing in a channel and according to laws which even the Pope of Rome does not have the power to control.

In everyday life, most believers do not fulfill their church rituals, do not attend divine services and show a most critical attitude toward the Church and its leader. In Italy, for example, only 13 percent of Catholics in 1970 attended Sunday services. In France and certain other capitalist states, millions of Catholics vote for communists at elections and in socialist countries they are taking an active part in the building of a new society.

In our time, under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, collapse of the colonial system and stormy development of the world revolutionary process, the Church is not only losing its rank and file believers but priests as well. Just in 1964-1974, 24,750 priests dropped out of the ranks of the clergy. In some countries, the number of seminary students is dropping catastrophically. Thus, in Spain there were 8,021 in 1964, but ten years later the number had shrunk to a total of 2,500.

Despite all this, the Catholic Church continues to consider itself as universal and aspires to world dominion. It has rather strong positions in a number of the capitalist countries, such as Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and to some extent the FRG and Austria. It possesses a powerful organization in the United States and counts as Catholic 20 Latin-American countries. Its missionaries operate in Africa and Asia.

The Catholic clergy relies not only on its ramified network but also on secular organizations of the type of "Catholic Action" (youth, women's and others); it has its own schools and higher educational institutions and takes part in the trade-union movement and has its own press. As they say, clerical radio stations are to be found around the whole wide world. Their broadcasts are made in many languages of the peoples of the USSR. Some programs are of an openly incendiary character aimed at kindling religious fanaticism. Speaking in condemnation of socialism and communism, Catholic radio priests distort the policy of the socialist states on religious and national questions.

Catholicism is trying in every possible way to adapt itself to the changes and sharp turns that are taking place in the world by paying the price of these or those concessions and renunciation of manifestly obsolete religious dogmas and canons. But despite the tremendous efforts to "get used to" reality, it can hardly succeed in turning history back. People are increasingly convinced that the now obsolete ideology of the Church interferes with building a new life and with following the path of progress.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ATTACKS BOURGEOIS APOLOGISTS FOR MAOISM

Moscow NOVYY MIR in Russian No 3, 1980 pp 276-279

[Review by V. Karpushin, doctor of philosophical sciences, and Ya. Povarkov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Sovremennoy Kitay v zarubeshnykh issledovaniyakh (Osnovnyye tendentsii v Kitayevedenii kapitalisticheskikh stran)", Moscow, "Nauka", Main Editorial Board for Eastern Literature, 1979, 261 pages: "Maoism, Its Bourgeois Interpreters and Apologists"]

[Text] Modern China in Foreign Studies (Basic Tendencies in Sinology of Capitalist Countries)

The collective monograph prepared by the Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences contains vast material showing the specific features of the approaches in the interpretation of Maoism, of the "cultural revolution," and the political and economic system of China by bourgeois researchers, disclosing the apologetic essence of many of them. Convincingly disclosed in the book is the reactionary role of Maoism in the war of ideas in the modern world, and its hostility to the forces of socialism and peace.

In the introduction the editor-in-chief of the book L. Kyuzadzhan notes with reason: it was possible to expect that Mao's ideas, which played a dramatic role in the history of China, would be soberly evaluated by his successors "for their real weight and significance." This, however, has not occurred as yet. Moreover, the new leaders of China are trying in every way to demonstrate their faithfulness to Maoism as an ideological banner, and in the sphere of international politics they are following the chauvinist, anti-Soviet aims of the "great helmsman," taking them up to the rank of the state policy of the People's Republic of China. The contradictory nature, the duplicity of the policy of the present rulers of Beijing is graphically shown by the so-called work of the "gang of four." Hoisted namely on it in Beijing was all the responsibility for the decade of chaos in the country, the destruction of cadres, the "fire on headquarters," the violence of the hong wei bing [Red Guards]. Meanwhile everyone knows very well that this "gang" consisted of the closest

aides of Chairman Mao, who acted with his blessing and under his leadership. Such hypocrisy of the Beijing rulers is manifested also in their attitude toward the "cultural revolution." In the Chinese press numerous data have been published about the vast damage caused to the country by this "revolution," and nevertheless even at the 11th congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August 1977 the Chinese leaders tried to justify it and did not mention a word about the direct responsibility of Mao Zedong for the crisis which befell China.

These and many other facts persistently remind us about the need for strengthening still more the Marxist-Leninist criticism of Maoism, for discrediting the myth about it as the "only true teaching." Along with Maoism itself, the pages of the introduction stress, marked damage to democratic and progressive forces was caused by the tendentious-apologetic "study" of the views of Mao Zedong, used by bourgeois propaganda for glorification of his ideas, for attacks on Marxism-Leninism. The tasks of critical analysis of writings of this trend, the attempts to present Maoism as "a continuation and development of Leninist doctrine," and Mao himself as an outstanding thinker and politician, now are urgent for Marxist researchers. Its actuality is also caused by the facts that the advocates of the bourgeoisie, the anticommunists up to now are not ceasing to spread every possible fiction about the "advantages" of the Chinese experience, particularly for the developing countries, pursuing the goal of discrediting the theory and practice of true socialism.

What is the main reason for the vindication of Maoism in the works of bourgeois Sinologists, what explains their political tendentiousness and conscious embellishment of the ideas of Mao? The critical analysis of these works on the pages of the book gives a reasoned answer to this question. Citing the statement of the American Sinologist M. Oksenberg, who sees the primary significance of Maoism "in the creation of new ideas and values, radically differing from the ideas dominating in the West about the development of society," L. Kyuzadzhyan remarks that at times it is difficult to understand what there is more of in this type of interpretation--the lack of knowledge of the modern Chinese reality or deliberate bias, prompted by the political interests of the authors... Well known is the vast damage to the national interests of China caused by the Maoist policy, the kind of negative changes in the socioeconomic system gained by the revolution to which it led. But this does not trouble the ideologists and politicians of the West in any way. The main thing for them is the anti-Sovietism of the ideological and political platform of Maoism, of its theory and practice.

Take, for example, the American and British expert Sinologists B. Schwartz, S. Schram, Ch. Johnson. Their interpretation of the Chinese "national model of socialism" pursues the aim of substantiating the legitimacy of the nationalistic political platform of Maoism. But they have not succeeded and will not succeed in combining such "legitimacy" with Leninism. Historical experience teaches that only consistent and steadfast conduct of a proletarian-internationalist policy is capable of withstanding the pressure of the petty bourgeois elements. "In a country with a huge

predominance of the small-proprietor population over the purely proletarian," stressed V.I. Lenin, "there will inevitably be an effect, and from time to time an extremely sharp effect, of the difference between the proletarian revolutionary and the petty-bourgeois revolutionary. This last will fluctuate and sway with each turn of events." Lenin's warning hits the mark for the Maoists, for whom such swaying "with each turn of events" is especially characteristic, predetermining their nationalistic rebirth, voluntarism, the absolutization by them of political constraint.

A special place in the book is set aside for interpretations of Maoism from the position of liberalism. Clearly shown in it is that different versions of the bourgeois conception of the goals and motives of the policy of the Beijing leadership to a significant degree are unsound, they do not serve for understanding the social-class content of the processes taking place in China.

Turned into a fiasco was the theory of synthesis of Maoism with Marxism, which was long insisted on by one of the well-known American Sinologists, the already mentioned B. Schwartz. In recent years he has been forced to review his opinions and has begun to speak about the prevalence of nationalism in the ideas of Mao, and the exaggerated role of the ideological factor. However, using the thesis about "Chinese communism" he is attempting to show a general tendency to formation of "national-communist regimes" and the "crisis of the world communist movement." Critically discussed in the book are also the view of another eminent Western Sinologist, S. Schram. The London professor strives to convince his readers that supposedly the Comintern "imposed" on China Marxist-Leninist theory, not considering the peculiarities of the country, and he tries to justify the departure of Mao from "Soviet doctrine," extolling the "Marxist-Leninist model of modernization and economic development, applicable under the conditions of China" created by him. Charmed by "Sinified Marxism," Schram despite the historical truth exaggerates Mao's role, credits him with "victorious leadership" of the revolutionary movement of the Chinese Communist Party, deprecating thereby the significance of Marxist-Leninist theory for China. Along with this the London political scientist is forced to acknowledge that there is a "complex contradiction" in the ideas of Mao, that he is first of all a "nationalist-revolutionary," that nationalism must be put in first place in Maoist doctrine.

Subjected to sound criticism on the pages of the book are Schram's attempts to represent Mao Zedong's rejection of the Soviet experience in the building of communism for the reason that supposedly he was convinced that the "Russian methods did not work in China," that Mao considered it "an infringement of national pride to follow the model of the Russians... and therefore decided to create his own new model." In reality, and this is widely known, the Maoists rejected namely the general laws of the construction of socialism, which had been confirmed by the whole course of historical development, they disavowed the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism.

Western Sinologists often address themselves also to the study of the ancient roots of Maoism, to ascertaining the effect of old Chinese traditions on its policy. West German specialists V. Bauer and T. Grimm note that in modern China the effect of the past, negative and positive, is very strong, that there are "striking" parallels between Maoism and Zen-Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Grimm especially finds connections between the social ethics of Mao and Confucius, in which the "role of the leaders," and "faith in the unlimited potential of education" are stressed, and also the perception by Maoism of the Taoist principle of self-denial. It follows to mention also the evaluations of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, based on traditional great-power factors. J. Fairbank and E. Reischauer consider this policy a "continuation and even repetition of the Great Imperial, Great Han Doctrines," and the Australian Sinologist Gh. Fitzgerald tries to explain it with the traditional Chinese view of the world, "in accordance with which China is regarded as the center, the sole bulwark of true civilization, as a law-giver for barbarian nations." However, despite a number of accurate observations, inherent to the bourgeois Sinologists is a common trait--the inability and lack of desire to connect Maoism, the features of Mao's activity with the socioeconomic conditions of modern China. Namely for this reason, as it is stressed in the book being reviewed, "the conceptions of Western Sinologists rarely withstand the test of time... their main flaw is a tendentious approach to the phenomena of Chinese reality."

Considerable attention in the book is given to "leftist"-radical interpretations of Maoism. The apologetics of those studying this trend is manifested first of all in that they see in Maoism a "progressive and revolutionary" moral element, supposedly directed at creation of a new type of human interrelations. The American Sinologist J. Damien has justified Mao's forcible actions, was carried away by his theory of contradictions, a practical embodiment of which, in his opinion, is the "dialectical unity of the spiritual and physical constraint," and falsely affirmed the closeness between the Maoist understanding of constraint and the Leninist point of view.

The striving to pass off Maoism for Marxism, transferred to Asia, is characteristic for another "leftist" American specialist, R. Li. In his representation the ideas of Mao are an "ideology of intensified accumulation and industrialization on the basis of small-scale capital," and the xia-fang system (forced departure for physical work in the countryside) is a "realization or reflection of the Marxist position on elimination of the differences between mental and physical labor." I. Schikkel, who issued in West Berlin a collection of documents about the "cultural revolution," tries to convince the readers that it has concluded the struggle with the old culture, started by campaigns of criticism of cinematographic art, literature, art and science, ideological education, and philosophy. These and other constructions of "left-wing" and certain eminent liberals, the defense by them of the authoritarian Maoist regime, the spreading of the myth of his antibureaucratism, it is noted in the book being reviewed, are fallacious and unsound. The parallels made by

them between the Maoist continuous and the Trotskyist permanent revolution have not brought a "scientific dividend" to the Western Sinologists. They are all equally pernicious, for "they doom the workers, who have been victorious in one country, either to passive waitin or to adventurist actions. All this is fundamentally contradictory to the principles of revolutionary Marxism, the ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism."

The majority of Western authors connects the fate of the economic development of China with that strategic course selected by the post-Maoist leadership. Some proceed from that this course will not be Maoist; others, as if prompting the leaders of China, are hoping for reinforcement of the schismatic policy. One of the experienced specialists on China, the American Sinologist A.D. Barnett, feels that "China is not preparing to make any kind of 'leap' or return to any kind of other radical policy in the field of economics," that the "Chinese leaders, quite possibly, in time will select a less ideologized approach to economic policy and will begin to devote more attention to the searches for practical ways to increase agricultural and industrial production." Clearly outlined in the works of Western experts are their "foresights" of the realization in China of programs for raising the productivity of agriculture through the introduction of new equipment and modern agrotechnical methods, which should lead to review of foreign trade policy, and to the assumption of foreign, that is, capitalist, credits. And following this, in turn, it is hoped in the West, there may be a "softening of the political regime of the People's Republic of China," a connection of it to the "world community." The goals of such an interpretation, the reverses of the character of China's economic development are obvious: to turn it into an appendage of the monopolies of capitalist countries, to make it dependent on them. Anticommunist and anti-Soviet J. Ryu, carried away with the "Chinese experience" of the departure from the "Russian model," is convinced that the principles on which the Chinese economy is based--state ownership of the means of production, a collective economy in the countryside--should be changed and that the Chinese leaders "will change them"...

With regard to the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, it, in the opinion of A.D. Barnett, will determine the combination of "strong nationalism" and "flexible pragmatism." Behind the ultrarevolutionary phrases of the Maoists about the national liberation movement, and its role in the struggle against imperialism, Fairbank and other bourgeois specialists see a hidden readiness of the leaders of Beijing to show indulgence toward the policy of the Western powers. This hegemonic policy, states Columbia University Professor K. Zhen, has prepared the grounds for Chinese-American rapprochement, it will serve as an obstacle to improvement of Soviet-American relations.

Conclusively disclosed in the book are such arguments of Western Sinologists in favor of increasing the military potential of China, including nuclear-rocket potential, as insuring its national safety, and the

creation of "minimum scare devices" against nuclear threats. Many of the bourgeois Sinologists repeat the lie of Beijing propaganda about the desire of the USSR to surround China. The Western specialists want to use such "evidence" to substantiate the thesis about the "non-aggressive nature" of the Maoists' foreign policy line. In stressing the common goals of Beijing and Washington, in appealing for the development by them of a "multi-pole balance of forces," these political scientists "reflect the striving of the ruling groups of the United States of America to use to the maximum in their own interests the great-power, nationalistic course of the Maoist leadership," which, as is shown in the book being reviewed, is evidence of their political tendentiousness, "the persistent striving to play up to in any way the nationalist policy of the Maoists, directed against the socialist commonwealth."

In summarizing, the author of the conclusion writes about a certain modification of the positions of Western Sinologists of late, about a serious loss born by the apologetic pro-Maoist direction of the leftist trend, about its crisis, about a newly strengthened anti-communist, "conservative" direction. The pragmatic course of the leadership of the People's Republic of China after the departure of Mao is considered by the majority of Sinologists in the West to be a deviation from the extreme aspects of the "ideology of Mao," and not a rejection of it as a whole. Only individual specialists, like S. Lei, say that set aside for the ideas of Mao will be the "harmless role of a formal state religion." Certain Western experts are speaking out in the spirit of demaoization, but they are not receiving ponderable support.

Meanwhile China is experiencing one of the most complicated moments in its development. The deep wounds left by the "cultural revolution" still have not healed, and the serious consequences of the political campaigns of the last 15 years have not been overcome. A fundamental evaluation of the "cultural revolution," of the role of Mao Zedong still has not been given and, apparently, this is not by chance: the struggle in the leadership around these questions is continuing and a unified opinion will scarcely be achieved in the very near future. To this day the Chinese leaders continue to insist that the ideas of Mao can guide the movement of Chinese society in the future also. However another thing is unquestionable: in the depths of Chinese society, in all its strata more and more people are coming to the clear realization of the ruinous role of these ideas in the past and the impossibility of being guided by them in the future. The Soviet investigators of Maoism in the book being reviewed also arrive namely at such a conclusion.

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NATIONAL

NEW ENCYCLOPEDIA ON RUSSIAN LANGUAGE PUBLISHED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 18 Apr 80 p 6

*[Text]* For the first time in the USSR, the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House has put out the single-volume encyclopedia "The Russian Language." At the request of our reporter A. Milovskiy, the chief editor of the encyclopedia, Director of the Institute of the Russian Language of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Laureate of the Lenin Prize F. Filin discusses this publication, the development of the Russian language and its problems:

A great many books have been written about the Russian language, studies, textbooks, dictionaries of various kinds, and collections. The information that science has accumulated about the Russian language is infinitely vast. But what to do for the person who just wants to acquire the most basic and important information about it, in a concise and accessible form? That is how the idea came about of creating a single-volume encyclopedia. Now it has become a reality. This is the first such publication in world linguistics. To be sure a similar "Encyclopedia of the Polish Language" was published in Cracow at almost the same time our publication came out, but it was published in a printing of only 5,000 copies and intended only for a narrow circle of experts.

The encyclopedia contains about 650 articles, presenting information on general linguistics (Since the Russian language cannot be understood outside of the general linguistic concepts) and describing the present structure of the Russian language in its various ramifications, mainly the literary language, the urban argots, the local dialects and the jargons. Some articles present generalizing concepts concerning the Russian language and its major features while others contain more particular information.

Nor has the history of the Russian language been forgotten in the encyclopedia: to understand its present state and future development, it is necessary to know how our language arose, in what era, and under what historical conditions.

The encyclopedia points out the functioning of the Russian language in the modern world. Under conditions of the developed socialist society, when there

are an intensive exchange of experience and a familiarization of every nation and nationality with the cultural achievements of all peoples of the USSR and with world culture, the role of the Russian language is considerably enhanced as a means of international communication and an instrument of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the great effort in all republics, the number of people freely mastering the Russian language is steadily increasing. A vast artistic and scientific-technical literature is at the service of the learners. The new encyclopedia will be useful to all who wish to discover the new riches of the language for themselves.

The problems of teaching Russian as well as the methods, textbooks and manuals are described in very compact form. Fifty articles deal with the greatest researchers of the Russian language from M. V. Lomonosov to the contemporary scholars.

The book is richly illustrated with photographs of the most important memorials of the Russian language, beginning with "Word About the Igor Regiment" and "Russian Truth" and the most important textbooks, studies and dictionaries of the Russian language.

The authors' collective of the book consists of about 100 persons, not only staff members of our institute but also linguists of other institutions in Moscow, Leningrad and a number of other cities.

The book is intended for a wide circle of readers, especially for teacher-philologists of the Russian language in Russian, national and foreign schools, for students and graduate students, and for all who study, love and are interested in the Russian language. Nor is it useless for scholars, since it contains the results of the latest studies on the Russian language in concise form.

The encyclopedia is published in a printing of 150,000 copies. It has not gone into many libraries, actually, nor has it been on open sale but has been distributed mainly by orders from various institutions. Very large orders for it have come from abroad. Therefore it is highly desirable for the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House to find it possible to put out an additional printing. The book is beautifully done, by the way, with good paper, clear print and high-quality illustrations.

Since the book has been a success, to judge by the many responses, I wish the publishing house would not cease working on it in the future but would prepare a new, supplemented and reworked edition of it in the light of the comments and suggestions that are inevitable in such cases.

Demand for a new edition will inevitably arise because the Russian language is not stationary but is constantly developed and perfected. The most important feature of this process is the great enrichment of the vocabulary chiefly with scientific-technical terminology. Many special terms previously unknown to the general public become generally known and generally accessible. While the academic, very exhaustive dictionary of the Russian literary language in 17 volumes our institute compiled in the 1950's contained 120,000 words, the

second edition of the dictionary now in preparation will have no less than 150,000 of them. This means an average increase of 1,000 words a year! This enrichment will unquestionably continue.

But it is by no means always necessary to welcome the birth of a new word. Recently words have been coming into the Russian language at various times from foreign languages without any justification for it, since they are quite synonymous with already existing Russian words and expressions. Not long ago for example, while driving on a highway near Serpukhov I saw a sign written in Russian letters saying "parking," which means "avtostoyanka." I read lately in a newspaper that in Rostov on Don, for example, that a gang of "killerov," that is "ubiyts," had been rendered harmless. The matter leads to an anecdote: In Palanga I bought a bottle of a beverage on which had been written "cranberry dzhus," that is "sok." Of course there are cases where use of a borrowed word or special term that has become international is fully justified, but why do this if there is a Russian equivalent?

Prohibitions and restrictions can hardly help here. It is merely necessary to foster and develop in people a patriotic attitude toward their language, as the Americans do, by the way. Beside the huge flow of Americanisms now coming into the European languages there is practically no reverse flow. For a typical example, the new Russian word "sputnik" arose and became international, but the Americans used it for a very short time and soon replaced it with "satellite."

The process of contaminating the language is not a matter of borrowing alone. Inappropriate technical terms and word formations foreign to the Russian literary language are infiltrating our colloquial speech, press and broadcasts. To be sure we are concerned about this phenomenon and there is a sector in our institute that publishes books on cultivation of Russian speech, but these useful and necessary books are not always available to broad strata of the population. The mass propaganda media must come to our aid here.

The standard of language is also a problem. The Russian literary language contains a vast quantity of different ways of expressing the same thing: "Vysoko" can be accented on the last or the next to the last syllable, and both are correct. These means of expression are generally used and generally acceptable sometimes, but they are often highly undesirable. It is now a question of refining the standards of the Russian literary language and an effort toward cultivation of Russian speech. And the further the Russian literary language progresses in its development the more acute this problem will be, because the Russian language is being used as a means of communication by more and more people of other nationalities.

The Russian language is now heard on all continents and its importance will undoubtedly increase. Let it be heard equally correctly everywhere, in Moscow, Tashkent, London and New York.

NATIONAL

SOVIET FILM ON ROLE OF WEST'S SUBVERSIVE CENTERS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 4 Apr 80 p 3

Article by Nikolay Keyzerov, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences: "The Inevitability of Retribution"

Text The film "Payment for Betrayal" (script authors V. Kassis and L. Kolosov, director Ye. Kuzin, projectionist A. Pestrolobov, "Tadzhikfil'm") leads the viewer into the depths of the struggle of ideas, gives a clear representation on class position, and forms offensive outlook directions.

Beginning today in our Motherland, with its peaceful sky and flowering gardens, the film takes us back to the past, to the cruelest war with the fascists which decided the fate of the nation and all of civilization.

Still pictures of military crimes of imperialism, shooting of innocent populace, the torture of people, and the nightmare of fascist concentration camps make the soul grow cold. But the bloody traces of fascism did not break in the past. On a large scale plan in the film, there is documented testimony to the fact that military criminals are again free and are carrying out black deeds. Announcer Oleg Krasovskiy on the radio station "Svoboda" today discusses the "rights of man." Yet very recently he sang praises of the bloody deeds of the American military in Vietnam.

The film exposes the centers of ideological diversion, sent by American special services. The assisting Hitlerite executioners and traitors ran behind their masters and after the war they scattered to the dark corners of Western Europe, became entrenched in subversive radio stations, in spy centers of Munich and other Western European cities. Some use their own surname and others change them and they would come out night or day onto the "great road" of broadcasting with the call signs of Radio Liberty station. Not only do they themselves evoke hatred and loathing, but so do those who cherish them. In the film the aphorism of Maksim Gor'kiy sounds deadly true: "A traitor cannot be compared with anyone or anything. Even comparing him with a typhoid carrying flea would be an insult to it."

The Munich collection of small but lethal anti-Soviet creatures is varied. In recent years the centers of radio diversion in the west sharply increased their subversive activity against the republics of Central Asia, using and expanding the so-called "national editorial offices." This insidious method of attempting to undermine the unity of the Soviet society was given a great deal of attention in the film and was well founded. Along with Zionism, the opponent attempts to use the "Islam resource" and other religious trends. A well-known "modernization" of methods and evolution of anti-Sovietism is occurring. In the film the tremendous danger of the Macist ideology and policy which are carrying out the role of assistants in the workshop of imperialist propaganda is convincingly shown. Editorial offices are being closed at the Radio Liberty station which had prepared broadcasts for China, for example, the Uigurian one. Because of this the subversive propaganda against socialist nations is being intensified.

The old generation of traitors is leaving. To replace them new personnel from among the "dissidents" are being recruited. The movie camera shows those who were lured by the promises of western propaganda which promised those who deserted "golden mountain." They are used in the dirtiest and most unattractive "affairs," they are ordered about, humiliated...they sadly loaf in "flea markets" and used good sales in hopes of enriching themselves with something. Nothing of the sort! In the film there is one instructive episode in our opinion: in the market commotion the "dissident" is earning money playing the theme song "If you only knew how dear to my heart are the Moscow evenings..."

The traitors deceived by the "voices" also finally are punished--many great and small evils, misfortunes, tragedy, yet still the most difficult of them is life in a foreign nation. When a person flees his homeland he first of all is the one who loses--he destroys and robs himself, his children and at one time or another the bitter realization comes to him.

Here is one of the episodes. Returning to his homeland as a tourist, the person with reverence kisses the dust on the road, grasps in his shaking hands a clump of earth from the grave of his mother and feels the criticism of his family and those close to him. He became "a man without a country," and for the first time he realizes what he lost. One of the characters in the film says: "I would give up everything for two arshins of earth at the cemetery, but in my own homeland."

The film pictures expose the sharp foreshortening of ideological clashes, sharp breaks with history and human fates. They not only expose one of the greatest evils of the modern world--subversive propaganda of imperialism. The film also consistently and insistently confirms the supremacy of our communist ideas, and the positive values of a socialist way of life.

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REGIONAL

GRISHIN DISCUSSES PROBLEMS, TASKS IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 80 pp 1-2

[Report on V. V. Grishin report at conference of Moscow's ideological aktiv:  
"Raising the Level of Ideological Work"]

[Text] A meeting of Moscow's ideological aktiv was held yesterday in the Moscow Gorkom. Its participants discussed the question of the tasks ensuing from the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, upon the presentation to him of the Lenin Prize for the books "Malaya zemlya" [The Small Land], "Vozrozhdeniye" [Revival] and "Tselina" [The Virgin Land] and for his indefatigable struggle for peace.

The report at the conference of the ideological aktiv was delivered by Moscow Gorkom First Secretary V. V. Grishin.

The conference was addressed by Kalininskiy Raykom First Secretary T. G. Ivanovna, Hero of Socialist Labor I. I. Shepelev, leader of a Metrostroy brigade of tunnelers, F. F. Kuznetsov, first secretary of the Moscow Writers Organization Board, A. I. Artamonov, secretary of the Searchlight Plant party committee, G. A. Yagodin, rector of the Chemical-Engineering Institute imeni Mendeleyev and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and A. G. Bortsov, first secretary of the Komsomol Moscow Gorkom.

With great enthusiasm the aktiv conferees adopted a letter to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V. G. Promyslov, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, Moscow Gorkom secretaries V. N. Makeyev, L. A. Borisov, R. F. Dement'yeva, I. N. Ponomarev and N. N. Ponomarev, Moscow Okkom Secretary V. M. Borisenkov, M. S. Lazarev, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department, I. M. Golovkov, instructor of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department, raykom secretaries, leaders of a number of main administrations and services of the Moscow Gorispolkom, executives of the Council of Labor Unions Moscow Gorkom and Komsomol Moscow Gorkom, raykom propaganda and agitation department chiefs and rayispolkom secretaries, secretaries of a number of major party organizations and the leaders of ideological establishments and creative unions participated in the conference.

The presentation to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev of the Lenin Prize, conferred on him for his books "Malaya zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" and "Tselina" and for his indefatigable struggle for peace was an event of great sociopolitical significance, V. V. Grishin said. It again demonstrated the inseparable unity of party and people and Soviet people's close cohesion around the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Our party and the Soviet people value Comrade L. I. Brezhnev highly as a stanch Marxist-Leninist, outstanding political and state figure and a talented organizer of the masses who is boundlessly devoted to the cause of communism. The tremendous amount of work he has done aimed at the all-around progress of Soviet society, the cohesion of the socialist community countries and the world communist and workers movement and the strengthening of peace have won for Leonid Il'ich Soviet people's profound respect and high international authority.

The works and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and his books "Malaya zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" and "Tselina" are playing an important part in the mobilization of the masses for the fulfillment of the party's plans and in the raising of the working people in a communist spirit.

Soviet people, including Muscovites, apprehended with tremendous attention and profound interest Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the ceremonial gathering to present him with the Lenin Prize. This speech embraces a broad range of questions of our country's spiritual life, party work and the development of Soviet society. The propositions and conclusions of the speech are of theoretical and practical significance.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that, like every communist, he sees it as his duty to participate actively in the work of our press and help "write the history of the present day" and write it such that it be of as much help as possible to the practical work of the party and the working class.

He spoke with warmth and cordiality about Soviet workers and their modesty and patience, persistence in labor and bravery in battle and kindness toward people and selfless devotion to the great Leninist cause. Speaking about the communists--the active fighters for this cause--Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted their ideological conviction and spiritual beauty.

The speech again emphasizes the importance of a further improvement in ideological and education work. "The further we progress along the path of communist building," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "and the stronger our economy and the more well-to-do people's life, the greater the significance attached to the tasks of people's sociopolitical, cultural, moral and aesthetic upbringing. A gap between material and spiritual development cannot be permitted for this would be fraught with many disasters.

"And the more educated Soviet people become and the broader the range of their knowledge, the greater the significance which is attached to the level and quality of ideological work."

Our party constantly pays tremendous attention to questions of ideology. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that a considerable amount had been done recently to implement decrees in this sphere adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, the main one of which is the decree "A Further Improvement in Ideological, Political Education Work."

But it would be a mistake to believe that enough has been done. Tremendous and persistent work still has to be done in all the areas indicated in the Central Committee decree in order that ideological activity might really be raised to a new level and correspond to the demands of the time and Soviet people's requirements.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev mentioned as a principal shortcoming unthinking and soulless formalism and an inclination toward stereotypes and verbal babble. He called for a live, creative character to be imparted to all educational, informational and propaganda work at all levels and in all fields, for it to be a rule to speak with people in straightforward and intelligible language and frankly and in businesslike manner, for a renunciation of high-flown words, red tape and mechanical repetitions and for us to become accustomed to writing by investing our own vital thinking and our own feelings in each sentence.

Speaking of the education of young people, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that it is essential that young men and women be familiarized with the sources of the formation of socialist social relations. They must have a sound idea of how the state's gigantic economic and spiritual potential was created. An awareness of the continuity of our deeds will help in acquiring a better understanding both of present-day concerns and the concerns which await our people tomorrow. These instructions of Leonid Il'ich serve as a true reference point in the party and Komsomol organizations' work on the communist education of the young generation.

The speech formulated the tasks of party journalism, artistic literature and art. "To intervene in practical life, help people understand more clearly the meaning of this life and the direction of its current and to help make this life better, more correct, brighter and richer, not only materially but also spiritually. This is the yardstick with which the party approaches ideological work in all its forms," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said.

This is all the more important in that the 1980's will be years of the solution of manifold and complex questions of the further development of our economy, science and culture and social relations. We have everything for coping with these tasks, obviating shortcomings and making the people's life even better.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's speech at the presentation to him of the Lenin Prize, the speaker continued, is of great significance for a further improvement in the entire activity of Moscow's party organizations, particularly with respect to the ideological and moral education of the city's working people, and imparts new impetus to it. We have much to do to eliminate the shortcomings in educational work about which Leonid Il'ich spoke--we have them here also.

It is essential to adopt effective measures to do away with existing shortcomings and to strengthen the work of the party organizations in upgrading the level of ideological and political education work in accordance with the propositions and recommendations of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech. This is of paramount significance for the successful accomplishment of the task of making Moscow a model communist city.

The 25th party congress pointed out that the shaping of communist conviction requires the close unity of ideological-political, labor and moral education with regard for the peculiarities of different groups of working people. Guided by the directives of the congress and the CPSU Central Committee decrees about which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke in his speech, the city party organization has performed a great deal of work on the implementation of a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems of education.

The basis of all activity with respect to the ideological-political education of the working people, V. V. Grishin emphasized, is political enlightenment and the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and nonparty people. Approximately 90 percent of all working Muscovites are involved in study of Marxist-Leninist theory and party documents.

However, qualitative indicators do not always correspond to good quantitative indicators.

The task is to secure a further improvement in the activity of all elements of party propaganda and raise communists' responsibility for the constant extension of their Marxist-Leninist training. It is necessary to introduce the students more extensively in the political training and economic education

systems to a study of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, CPSU history, party congress documents and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

It is the propagandists' duty to show more clearly the greatness of communist ideals, the all-conquering force of Marxism-Leninism, the historic advantages of socialism and its genuine democratism and humanism and the CPSU's fruitful activity in strengthening the might of the Soviet motherland and increasing the people's well-being. It is important to demonstrate on the basis of concrete facts the advantages of the socialist way of life and its achievements in the economy and culture and to explain what is being done and what should be done to solve the immediate problems of socioeconomic and cultural building under current conditions and to further develop of Soviet democracy and strengthen socialist statehood. It is necessary to make extensive use of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech to the electorate of Baumanskiy Okrug, which contains an in-depth elaboration of these and other questions of Soviet society's further progress.

The gorkoms and the raykoms and the party organizations must insure constant control over the progress and quality of the classes and talks, ruling out formalism, a superficial approach to the questions being studied and remoteness from practice. It is essential to increase the influence of political and economic training on the solution of educational and economic problems. The result of a study of revolutionary theory and party policy should be the formation in Muscovites of high-mindedness and conviction, an active position in life and implacability toward all manifestations of alien ideas and morals.

Mass-political work is called upon to contribute to the strengthening of labor and state discipline, increased responsibility for the entrusted job, a solicitous attitude toward socialist property and also an intensification of the struggle against indiscipline, substandard work, extravagance and departmentalism and localism and against fraud and dishonesty. It is necessary to reveal existing shortcomings more actively and point out the paths of doing away with them and to resolutely oppose unhealthy rumors and narrow-minded opinions.

To increase the effectiveness of mass-political measures it is essential to organize work with different groups of working people and the public in differentiated manner. The party activists and all who are involved in questions of education must make an in-depth study of people's mood, adopt a responsive attitude toward their needs and requests and react on a current basis to the questions which are raised and critical observations.

An increase in the efficacy of the political education of the masses largely depends on the participation of leading personnel therein. The party organizations have done much in this respect in recent years. Unified political festivals with the participation of leading party, soviet, labor union, Komsomol and economic workers is constantly practiced in the rayons. Relying on available experience, it is necessary to constantly improve the practice of holding political festivals and display concern to insure that

the working people have an opportunity to put to the leaders questions troubling them and that the appropriate replies are given and the necessary measures adopted in respect of them.

The question of it being necessary to speak with people straightforwardly, frankly and in a businesslike manner and to renounce high-flown words, red tape and repetition, which was raised in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech, is related most directly to our work. It is necessary to strive to insure that all speeches--both during unified political festivals and in the course of other measures--be interesting and meaningful, reveal the essence of the subject in question and provide clear answers to the questions which are raised.

A stereotyped and nonspecific approach in lectures, reports and talks harms educational work, gives rise to indifference in people and fails to promote mobilization for the solution of current problems and the removal of existing shortcomings.

Muscovites' labor education is undertaken in inseparable connection with ideological-political education. Its most important form is socialist competition, to whose comprehensive development the gorkom and raykoms devote constant attention. Currently approximately 95 percent of the capital's working people participate in competition. It is necessary to continue to improve the organization of competition in every way and enhance its role in the mobilization of the working people for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of national economic plans and in the formation in the working people of communist traits and qualitites and the skills of production management.

Questions of manners and morality figure among the most important questions of education. It is essential to introduce more actively into Muscovites' daily life and routine the "Moral Principles of the Inhabitant of a Model Communist City." The ideological aktiv is called on to propagandize these lofty principles in every way and contribute to their assertion.

Work connected with the education of the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and implacability toward nationalism is in need of further improvement. It is acquiring particular significance in the current situation, under the conditions of an exacerbation of the class struggle in the world arena.

Our ideological opponents are utilizing increasingly subtle forms of influencing the consciousness of Soviet people, including, of course, that of Muscovites. Great efforts are being made to diminish Soviet people's patriotism, communist conviction and collectivism and to counterpose bourgeois individualism, a private-ownership mentality, money-grubbing, skepticism, indifference to public matters and anti-Soviet sentiments to our moral and ethical values.

The West's propaganda centers have stepped up their hostile work particularly on the threshold of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the Moscow Olympics.

It is essential, the speaker emphasized, that the raykoms and party organizations make use of all forms of ideological activity in the struggle against manifestations of bourgeois ideology and morality and make them more aggressive. The party organizations must regularly examine questions connected with this, conduct counterpropaganda on a current basis and improve the training of the ideological aktiv.

It is essential to consistently and persistently expose the anti-Soviet acts organized by imperialist circles, revisionists and bourgeois nationalists and the forms and methods of their subversive actions at classes in the political and economic education system, in lectures, reports and talks, in political information briefings and in the press and radio and television broadcasts.

The ideological establishments and the party organizations must direct public opinion against manifestations of a private-ownership mentality and nationalist and religious prejudices and against infringements of socialist legality and the standards of our morality. It is important that counter-propaganda measures be implemented in good time in every labor collective and that an atmosphere be created of intolerance of erroneous opinions and the dissemination of the slanderous fabrications of Western propaganda. At the same time it is necessary to improve individual work with politically immature people who have been subjected to the influence of bourgeois propaganda and to enhance the responsibility of the communists and business managers for the working people's education.

Great significance is attached to a further rise in the level of leadership of ideological and political education work on the part of the raykoms. A number of raykoms is not yet making full use of available potential for a further improvement in this work. The struggle against drunkenness, hooliganism, speculation, bribe-taking and other antisocial manifestations is being waged insufficiently actively. Not enough is being done to expand the available material base of ideological work and to make more effective use for educational purposes of clubs, houses and palaces of culture, libraries and sports grounds and to put them in order.

The new housing areas frequently lack any cultural establishments. Decisions which have been adopted on the creation in each microrayon of centers for conducting mass-political and cultural-educational work, the allocations of premises in new apartment buildings for work with children and the creation of special-interests clubs are being fulfilled inadequately.

A most considerable factor of the efficacy of ideological work, V. V. Grishin continued, is people's provision with good housing-social conditions, concern for satisfying their material and spiritual requirements and the

creation of a pleasant atmosphere in the city and in all its rayons. The economy, science and culture are developing constantly and social questions are being solved consistently in Moscow thanks to the constant attention and concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally. The Master Plan of the city's development is being implemented. The modernization and retooling of industrial enterprises is underway, and production is being perfected. Much is being built in the way of housing, schools and children's medical and other establishments. The living standard of the capital's population is rising constantly.

At the same time shortcomings in production organization are only being done away with slowly in many labor collectives. Instead of the timely and persistent settlement of questions of securing raw material and goods for the enterprises, certain managers strive for a lowering of the plans, and adopted pledges are not fulfilled. All this diminishes the educational role of socialist competition and the activeness of the workers and employees in the struggle for the highest work results.

The imprecise work of a number of municipal services, transport, sales and consumer service enterprises and the health service is reflected in people's mood and lowers the effectiveness of the educational measures implemented in the labor collectives and at the place of residence.

The raykoms and party organizations must put an end to these shortcomings and insure a further increase in the quality and efficacy of education work. It is necessary to establish even more persistently a comprehensive approach to education in all areas; in evaluating the work of the collectives to take into consideration not only the indicators of the fulfillment of production plans but also the level of discipline, the moral-political atmosphere and the work and social conditions of the workers.

The raykoms are called upon to step up their attention and assistance to the primary party organizations in improving political education work in each labor collective and at the place of residence. It is necessary to regularly study and disseminate the methods and experience of people's education which have given a good account of themselves and to display constant concern for an increase in the role in this work of the labor collectives, the aktiv, the labor union and Komsomol organizations and the business managers.

The main thing, V. V. Grishin emphasized, is to constantly enhance the efficacy of ideological work. The measures which are implemented must actively contribute to a strengthening of people's communist consciousness and inculcate in them concern for an increase in the motherland's economic and defense might, a clear understanding of our goals and profound devotion to the party cause. At the same time ideological work is called on to inculcate in the working people a solicitous attitude toward public property, socialist labor discipline, high-mindedness and civic courage in the struggle against laxity, indifference and bureaucratism and all infringements of Soviet laws and moral standards.

It is necessary to address the educational measures which are implemented more accurately and to reach with them primarily those who are in need of them. It is important to find and make extensive use of new forms of work which make it possible to take more fully into consideration the particular features of educational activity with this social group or the other or such-and-such a category of working people and the public. We must persistently develop in the ideological work of the party organizations a sense of the new and resolutely overcome formalism, inertness and an adherence to long obsolete forms and methods of education. This is the way the Central Committee teaches us and this is how Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev sets the task in his speeches.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the speaker continued, noted in his speech the big part played by literature and art in people's ideological, moral and aesthetic education and in the formation in them of a communist world outlook.

It is possible to show particularly strikingly and impressively the greatness of the Soviet people's deeds and aspirations, the purity of communist ideals and the profound humanism inherent in our social system through the resources of artistic creativity appealing not only to man's intelligence but also to his feelings.

It is the honorary and international duty of the creative intelligentsia to carry the ideas of socialism and communism to all countries through the resources of art and to win increasingly new supporters for them and to contribute to the formation and reinforcement of a united anti-imperialist front of all progressive workers of culture.

The capital's creative workers are a representative and authoritative detachment of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia. They are making a worthy contribution to the development of literature and art.

Moscow writers, artists, composers and theater and cinema workers have created works which show from party standpoints and with great artistic expressiveness our people's achievements in communist building and Soviet man's rich spiritual world. The most significant of these works have been awarded Lenin and state prizes and have won wide recognition here in our country and abroad.

At the same time there are still shortcomings in the creativity and public activity of Moscow's men of letters, artists, composers and figures of the theater and cinema and in the work of cultural establishments and their party influence on artistic creativity. There are oversights in the ideological-political education of the creative intelligentsia and in the work with young people. They must be rectified.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called on workers of literature and art to participate more actively in the creation of the "chronicle of the present day." This means creating striking new artistic works devoted to our time and the

man of labor. It also means showing convincingly with characteristic artistic resources the entire greatness of Lenin's ideas and impressing on our minds the image of the great Lenin and the images of communists--active fighters for the people's happiness.

The artist must recognize his responsibility to the party and people and constantly enhance his ideological-theoretical level and professional skill.

Figures of literature and art are called on to participate more actively in Muscovites' ideological, moral and aesthetic education and in enhancing their culture, which is an important component of the work to make Moscow a model communist city.

This gathering, V. V. Grishin said, is being held on the eve of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. Muscovites are greeting this portentous jubilee with big labor achievements. The capital's party organizations are doing much to insure that the preparations for Lenin's anniversary become everywhere a review of loyalty to the illustrious traditions of our party and the Soviet people and be commemorated with new successes in labor and a further activization of public life.

Moscow's enterprises and establishments are currently concluding open party meetings with the agenda of "Living, Working and Struggling in Leninist, Communist Fashion." The speeches of the communists and nonparty people are emphasizing that at the current stage living, working and struggling in Leninist, communist fashion means striving for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum and the instructions contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and multiplying their contribution to the accomplishment of the tasks of communist building, the utmost strengthening of our motherland's economic and defense might, an increase in the efficiency and quality of work and the strengthening of organization and discipline at all levels.

Socialist competition in honor of the Lenin jubilee has become widespread in the city. Implementing their pledges, many dozen enterprises and hundreds of thousands of workers have fulfilled the five-year plan quotas for production, transportation, construction and service of the public.

The production pacesetters and the collectives which have scored the biggest successes in socialist competition in honor of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth are being presented with Lenin testimonials. Moscow, as a whole, and many labor collectives have been awarded CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee challenge red banners for work results in 1979.

An all-Moscow communist subbotnik will be held tomorrow. A great deal of preparatory work has been done in anticipation of it, and a struggle has developed to economize on raw materials and goods. The 19 April subbotnik,

like previous subbotniks, will undoubtedly be conducted under the sign of shock work and will be a further manifestation of Muscovites' high consciousness and their communist attitude toward labor and striking evidence of the boundless loyalty of the city's working people to the great Lenin's behests and our party's cause.

We are confronted with the task of commemorating the year of the Lenin jubilee with the successful fulfillment of the plan and pledges for 1980 and the five-year plan as a whole. To achieve this the production growth rate in the current year must be no less than 3.8 percent against the planned growth of 3.1 percent, and the labor productivity growth rate must be no less than 4.5 percent. These indicators were secured in the first quarter. The industrial production growth rate in the 3 months of this year was 3.8 percent, and the entire production increase was achieved without an increase in the number of workers. The target for labor productivity growth in construction was met. More than 400 enterprises have achieved the production growth rate planned for the end of the five-year plan.

It is very important to prevent a fall in the indicators which have been achieved. It is essential for this to improve the management of enterprises and organizations in every way, step up party supervision and raise all collectives to the struggle for the full use of all our potential and reserves. All ideological and political education work in the city should be geared toward this.

In conclusion V. V. Grishin expressed confidence that Moscow's party organizations and the ideological aktiv would, implementing L. I. Brezhnev's instructions expressed in his speech at the time of presentation of the Lenin Prize, secure a further increase in the quality and effectiveness of ideological and political education activity and would continue to multiply the Moscow working people's contribution to the struggle to accomplish our party's plans and the tasks of communist building.

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REGIONAL

ALIYEV ADDRESS AT CEREMONY TO PRESENT AWARDS TO CULTURAL FIGURES

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 May 80 p 1

[Speech by candidate member of Politburo of CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan G.A. Aliyev on occasion of awards to prominent cultural figures: "Talent and Inspiration--the Work of Communism; Conferring of Awards to Cultural Figures of Azerbaijan"]

[Text] A few days ago, candidate member of Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist of Azerbaijan G.A. Aliyev conferred on a group of prominent cultural figures of the republic state awards--USSR orders and certificates bestowing honorary titles of Azerbaijan SSR.

On making the awards, Comrade G.A. Aliyev made a speech.

Address by Comrade G.A. Aliyev

Today high awards are being conferred on prominent representatives of Azerbaijan's culture. I am fulfilling this honorable duty with a feeling of great satisfaction.

For outstanding contributions to the development of Soviet musical art, USSR People's Artist Rashid Beybutov is bestowed the title of Hero of Socialist Labor; he is awarded the Order of Lenin and the gold medal "Hammer and Sickle."

Rashid Beybutov is one of the most prominent, most brilliant representatives of Azerbaijan culture. The unique and excellent voice, great performing talent and high level of mastery inherent in Rashid Beybutov have gained him fame among our people, everywhere throughout our country and throughout the whole world. For more than 40 years he has been faithfully serving Azerbaijan culture, adding through his creativity an outstanding page to Azerbaijan musical art--performance and song.

A special feature of Rashid Beybutov's creative work is that by performing Azerbaijan folk songs, the best examples of national musical folklore in accordance with contemporary requirements of professional art, he popularizes the centuries-old rich song heritage of our people on all the continents.

The singer performs with great skill the songs of contemporary Azerbaijan composers and songs of the Russian people and other peoples of our country, as well as of many peoples of the world, contributing thereby to the development of musical art in our country.

In his creative work, Rashid Beybutov inspiredly praises in song the Soviet people, their labor valor, the achievements of laboring people and our Soviet society, the Communist Party and the friendship of peoples. He propagandizes with great skill and talent Azerbaijan music and art in the Union and abroad, contributing thereby to the glorification of the republic, the Soviet land and our culture.

Rashid Beybutov with his remarkable creative work actively contributes to the strengthening of friendship and peace among peoples. The Theater of Song created more than 15 years ago on the initiative of Rashid Beybutov and managed by him is the first of its kind in the country and has played a prominent role in the development of Azerbaijan musical art.

An outstanding master of art, Rashid Beybutov is at the same time a prominent public figure. He is a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet elected by the people and is always connected to them; he lives with the people the same life, and he serves them faithfully. The community of our republic accepts the title of Hero of Socialist Labor conferred on Rashid Beybutov as a high appreciation of all our Azerbaijan art and musical creative work.

A few days ago, the community of the republic triumphantly celebrated the jubilee of Hero of Socialist Labor, Azerbaijan People's Writer Suleyman Ragimov. For his services to the development of Soviet literature and in connection with his 80th birthday, he has been awarded the Order of Friendship of Peoples.

Suleyman Ragimov is a prominent representative of Azerbaijan literature. His creative work reflects at a high artistic level all the stages of development of the Azerbaijan republic in the years of the Soviet power.

With his works, the writer has been taking an active part in the development of Azerbaijan literature. In his novels, tales, stories and journalistic articles there is to be seen the glorious road traveled by Soviet Azerbaijan in the course of 60 years and, in particular, the processes of revolutionary transformations of the countryside. Suleyman Ragimov has made a big contribution to the development of the genre of the novel in Azerbaijan literature.

The republic's literary community calls him the al-sakal (chosen elder) of Azerbaijan writers. I believe that this honorific was conferred on him not only because of age and gray hair but first and foremost for his work of more than half a century in Azerbaijan literature and for his great labor in the name of its development.

Suleyman Ragimov's works are read with love in our republic; they have been translated into the languages of the fraternal Soviet republics and into the languages of the peoples of the world; they have gained wide recognition of readers. He shows with great skill the many-faceted activity of the party and objectively depicts the events taking place in the republic.

Suleyman Ragimov is also well known as a party and public figure. He has been for more than half a century in the ranks of the CPSU; for many years he was in party work and headed the Azerbaijan Writers Union. And today, in addition to his literary work, he is actively engaged in public activity.

The honorary title of People's Writer of Azerbaijan has been awarded to the first secretary of the board of the Azerbaijan Writers Union Imran Kasumov. This title has been awarded him for the labor which he, as a dedicated fighter, has devoted for more than four decades to the development of Azerbaijan literature and for his great creative and public activities.

Imran Kasumov is a prominent prose writer, playwright, publicist and at the same time an active public figure. His literary work is marked by a brilliant, original talent, a deep understanding of problems and a high level of professionalism. From his first steps in literature, when he dedicated his inspiration to the depiction of the life of the working class as the leading social forces of our society, the writer has remained faithful to this great and noble theme. His novels, plays, tales, stories and a large number of publicistic articles in the periodical press have significantly enriched our literature.

As a communist and citizen, writer Imran Kasumov dedicatedly serves the people and the party. This devotion is strikingly expressed in his literary work. Imran Kasumov's works deeply show the leading role and organizing activity of the party and in particular the work he has done in regard to communist education of the workers; they raise moral and ethical problems with great artistic force.

The literary and public activity of Imran Kasumov provides a contribution to the strengthening of the friendship of the Soviet peoples and the solidification of fraternal ties between the Azerbaijan and Russian literary figures, to bringing them closer together and to the expansion of creative contacts of Azerbaijan writers with the writers of other fraternal literatures.

Imran Kasumov is engaged in a great deal of public work in the republic. For a number of years, he was secretary of the board of the Azerbaijan

Writers Union. At the same time he is also secretary of the board of the USSR Writers Union. These posts fully showed Imran Kasumov's sense of party responsibility and great organizational abilities and his talent as a leader, as a result of which the activity of the Azerbaijan Writers Union has increased, and the level of literature raised.

Imran Kasumov is devoting much energy to rallying of creative forces and increasing their coordinated and fruitful work. We are heartened that the Azerbaijan Writers Union has been devoting much attention in the recent period to the ideological and creative growth of the young generation of Azerbaijan's people of letters; all the conditions are being created for their professional development and fruitful work.

As secretary of the USSR Writers Union, Imran Kasumov works actively both in the republic and beyond its borders--in Moscow and other cities. With his deeply substantive, politically argued, artistically brilliant speeches, he popularizes in the Soviet Union and abroad the achievements of Azerbaijan literature. Imran Kasumov has entered Azerbaijan's literature as a prominent figure, and he has entered the hearts of his readers as a talented master of the word.

Il'yan Efendiyev, a prominent representative of Azerbaijan literature, has been conferred the honorary title of People's Writer of Azerbaijan. Through all his talented work, Il'yan Efendiyev is connected with Azerbaijan Soviet literature; he has been working in this for about a half century. As the author of many novels and plays, he has acquired full recognition in the republic as a prose writer and playwright, and the people know him and love his work. I. Efendiyev's works are also well known to the all-union reader.

Il'yan Efendiyev's work is multifaceted. His novels, tales, stories and plays excellently reflect our contemporaneity and show deeply and in detail the revolutionary struggle of the people and the changes that have taken place in Azerbaijan in the years of the Soviet power.

The works of Il'yan Efendiyev are marked by a pure and beautiful artistic language, depth of content and a high level of skill; they exert a great esthetic influence on the reader. His books convincingly and strongly reflect the difficult work of bridge builders, the heroic labor of oilworkers, contemporary rural life, and the moral-psychological processes to be found among the intelligentsia of Azerbaijan. In his creative work, the writer intently traces the moral formation and development of our society, disclosing its meaning; he creates brilliant images of people who should be emulated today and also tomorrow. With his talent, he actively participates in the moral education of workers.

The title of Republic Honored Worker in the Arts has been awarded to the poet Nabi Khazri. He is a prominent representative of our contemporary literature and of the present generation of Azerbaijan poets. Continuing the rich traditions of Azerbaijan poetry, Nabi Khazri with inspiration serves our literature and actively assists in its development.

The art of poetry is one of the most ancient in Azerbaijan. We take pride in its history, especially the history of our literature and poetry. And we are also proud that Azerbaijan literature, including poetry, has achieved throughout the years of the Soviet power still greater heights, and this is the result of the creative activity of our contemporary poets. Nabi Khazri occupies a worthy place among them. With his great skill and talent, he extols the heroic past as well as the present day and tomorrow of our people. In his verses and poems, the poet brings up problems of primary importance, ones that are of great significance to the development of our society and to the education of the present generation. At the same time there is clearly expressed the author's position, demonstrating his tie to the party and the people and his faithful service to them.

Nabi Khazri's lyrics, his poems, and all his literary works and publicistic articles have achieved recognition by our public, our people. His compositions are very popular; many poems have been set to music, becoming splendid songs gracing our art. Nabi Khazri's poems are not only to be heard in the Azerbaijan language, as they have been translated into Russian and other languages of the fraternal Soviet peoples and into the languages of a number of peoples of the world.

At the same time, Nabi Khazri is doing much public work with creativeness. As chairman of the presidium of the Azerbaijan Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, he has done a great deal in recent years to improve work in this important sector. This society serves as an excellent propagandist of our literature and art abroad and of the achievements of Soviet Azerbaijan and all the Azerbaijan people.

From ancient times, women have occupied a worthy place in the history of Azerbaijan literature. Although there have not been many women among writers either in the past or the present, they always have enriched with their work our culture, raising it in a moral sense. Today women occupy a worthy place in the ranks of Azerbaijan writers, and they are working fruitfully. One such creatively active woman is Khalida Gasilova. She is a prominent representative of Azerbaijan literature, a writer and public figure. For her services in the development of Soviet literature and fruitful work in the press and in connection with her birthday, the fine editor of the journal AZERBAIJAN KADYNY Khalida Gasilova has been awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner.

Khalida Gasilova has been working in the field of literature for many years. In her literary works and publicistic articles, she describes the life of the people with great skill, and with her feminine intuitiveness and sensitivity she makes contact with her readers. At the same time, Khalida Gasilova has been fruitfully working in the republic press. As chief editor, she has guided successfully for about 8 years the journal AZERBAIJAN KADYNY.

This journal has a big history. Six years ago, we celebrated its 50th anniversary. The journal was awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner.

Following the jubilee, its work became even better. We are glad that the journal, raising from year to year its political, public and literary level, is of great help to the republic party organization. It plays an important role in the ideological-political education of the republic's workers and first and foremost its women.

We always read the issues of the journal AZERBAIJAN KADYNY with great interest. It is the only publication which so broadly reflects the life of Azerbaijan women. The journal ably shows the difficult historical past of our women. In interesting substantive articles, photo illustrations, stories and poems, it graphically depicts their happy life today. In this respect, Khalida Gasilova's role as a writer, press worker and public figure is significant.

One of the significant features of the multinational Soviet literature is the fact that each people in our society, developing under the banner of the October Revolution, have received the possibility and all the conditions for providing a rebirth of its classical heritage and flowering of contemporary literature and for acquainting other peoples with its literary work. At the present time, Azerbaijan readers can become acquainted in their native language with the works of the Russian classics and contemporary Russian writers and the work of writers of other peoples of our country and also progressive foreign people of letters. And in the same way, the best examples of our literature are translated into Russian and the languages of the other fraternal Soviet peoples and also into foreign languages. In this sense, the role of the literary translation is significant. One of the great achievements of our literature and culture is the unprecedented development in the years of the Soviet power in Azerbaijan of the literary translation and its present high level. Our writers are doing significant work in this regard.

Almost all of the writers and poets mentioned by me today are in addition to their own creative work engaged in literary translations. Iskhag Ibragimov is very active in translating work. He has translated into the Azerbaijan language a whole series of works of Russian prose writers and playwrights--classicists and contemporaries, helping thereby the Azerbaijan writer to become acquainted with the best examples of the multinational Soviet literature. Iskhag Ibragimov has done much work in this field and also as a motion-picture scenario writer and participant in other literary genres, which makes it possible to speak of him as a prominent figure in literature and as a writer-translator. For this work, Iskhag Ibragimov has been awarded the honorary title of Republic Honored Worker in the Arts.

In recent years, I. Ibragimov has been working in the position of secretary of the board of the Azerbaijan Writers Union and is contributing in this sector both to the development of the work of literary translation and to the overall improvement of the work of the Azerbaijan Writers Union.

We have thus expressed our thoughts and feelings concerning the comrades who have received awards today. I believe that everyone present here shares them. I want to say that I am saying these good words proceeding from the heart as a writer and admirer of our literature and art. These words reflect the contributions of the rewarded comrades, as well as their activities and their work.

I want to express the confidence that these good words and assessments, wishes and sincere feelings inspire the comrades celebrated by the awards and serve as a stimulus to them to still more active work, to the creation of new productions and will to a certain degree become the source of their inspiration.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the republic Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, I congratulate with all my heart all of you, dear comrades and wish you health, happiness and success. I hope that your future work and life in the future will be even more fruitful, more wonderful and brilliant. I wish that you in your life and work will achieve the very best and that your aspirations, hopes and aims will be realized.

Comrade Aliyev's address was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted with applause.

USSR People's Artist, Hero of Socialist Labor Rashid Beybutov made an answering speech. I am happy, he said, that I, a singer of Soviet Azerbaijan, have been presented the highest award of the Motherland--the Gold Star of a Hero of Socialist Labor. This award inspires me to new accomplishments, and I assure you that I shall henceforth devote all my energies, all my talent for the good of Soviet art.

I warmly thank the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government and comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally for such a high evaluation of my labor.

In the last ten years, Comrade Beybutov continued, our republic has become winged and reached unprecedented heights, and we relate these successes to the purposeful and systematic activity of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, its Bureau, aimed at improving all sectors of the economy and culture of the republic. We workers in art constantly feel the tremendous attention and fatherly concern for us on the part of the party and the government and warmly thank them for this.

All my creative life of half a century has been devoted to the development and dissemination of the musical work of Soviet Azerbaijan, and I am happy for the opportunity of singing the song of my people and its wonderful art in many countries.

In accepting this high award, I want to speak words that issue from the depths of my heart. I have sung, sing and will continue to sing the songs

of great Russia, songs of the fraternal peoples of our country and songs of Soviet Azerbaijan.

The first secretary of the board of the Azerbaijan Writers Union, Republic People's Artist Imran Kasumov spoke with words of gratitude. This memorable event, he said, testifies to the tremendous concern of the party and the government for the flowering of literature and art of Azerbaijan and is undissolubly concerned with the unprecedented successes of our republic, for the achievement of which in the Tenth Five-Year Plan Azerbaijan SSR has been awarded the Order of Lenin and been singled by cordial greetings from Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Inspired by their remarkable victories, the workers of the republic are full of decision to make new accomplishments in the future. Together with the people and in the forward ranks of builders of communism, there will march as always Azerbaijan's masters of literature and art, affirming with their work the high ideals of our society.

Azerbaijan's people of letters, said People's Artist of Azerbaijan Il'yas Efendiyev, are deeply grateful to the party and the government for their tremendous concern for the development of literature in the republic and for its masters. We shall henceforth strive to raise the ideological and artistic level of our work, being entirely guided by the high requirements of the party, and to create works that are worthy of our remarkable times and of the Soviet people--builders of communism.

At the presentation of the awards there were present Chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet K.A. Khalilov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan K.M. Bagirov, Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers F.G. Akhmedov, secretary of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet R.S. Kaziyev and a large group of prominent cultural figures of Azerbaijan.

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REGIONAL.

ARMENIAN CM CHAIRMAN DESCRIBES REPUBLIC'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by F. Sarkisyan, chairman of Armenian SSR Council of Ministers: "The Labor March of the Republic"]

[Text] For the fourth time during this five-year plan, Armenian SSR has been recognized as winner in the All-Union Socialist Competition and has gained the transferable Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee. This high award was also conferred on the collectives of a number of industrial, construction and transport enterprises, educational institutions, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cities and rayons of the republic; moreover a large part of them gained this success on a repeated basis.

Just in the last three five-year plans, industrial production in the republic grew approximately fourfold; considering the indicated tempi, industrial production volume in 1980 should be sixfold over that of 1960.

Industrial enterprises fulfilled ahead of schedule, on 27 December, last year's plan for production sales and production output of the most important types of items. The actual growth of industrial production was 7.7 percent instead of 6.7 percent provided by the plan. Production quality showed a marked improvement. Since 1975, the relative share of items produced with the state Seal of Quality has grown from 4.6 to 16 percent.

The fourth year of the five-year plan was marked by a significant labor victory of the republic's agricultural workers who overfulfilled plans and socialist commitments for sale to the state of the most important types of products.

In 1979, as in the preceding years of the five-year plan, improvement of the sectorial structure of the republic's industry continued owing to advancing developmental rates of labor-intensive and low-material-intensive sectors of precision machine building--electronic and radio-equipment industry, precision tool making, instrument making and others. It is enough to say that the growth of these sectors of industry amounted to 15-20 percent a year.

Work is continuing on the development of industry in the small cities and rayons with uncommitted manpower resources. This has already improved somewhat the social-economic condition of remote, foothill and mountain regions. In recent years industrial centers have been created and are successfully developing in the cities of Abovyan, Razdan, Charentsavan, Kamo, Aparan, Spitak and others; a large number of enterprises and branches of enterprises has been established in rayon centers.

For the consolidation of the achieved successes, serious measures are being implemented relating to reequipment of production, wide-scale introduction of progressive technology utilizing the achievements of science and technology. But in this important work, difficulties frequently arise stemming from defects in the planning of deliveries of certain kinds of material, fuel and energy resources. Thus, under the conditions of existing limitations of railroad freight shipments, it would appear to be useful to examine the question of increasing deliveries of natural gas to the republic with a corresponding reduction of liquid-fuel allocations.

A characteristic feature of the republic's economy is the considerable dependence of the tempi and proportions of the national economy's development on demographic factors. For a number of years now the growth of labor resources has been proceeding at a rather high rate. By the end of 1980, the population compared to 1970 is to have increased by 24.4 percent and able-bodied population by 51 percent. Furthermore, if you take into consideration that the population of the republic's capital constitutes one-third of its total size, the proposed efforts for a more rational location of industrial facilities becomes understandable. Thus, with an anticipated growth of 46 percent in the volume of gross industrial production for the republic in the Tenth Five-Year Plan, growth for the three cities of Yerevan, Leninakan and Kirovakan will amount to 32 percent and for the small cities and residential points--more than 70 percent. In terms of size of production personnel, growth will amount to 7 percent and 50 percent, respectively. With the location of new industrial enterprises or their branches in the republic's rayons, it becomes necessary to take into account the special features of each concrete rayon in all respects. Attention is called to the experience of the republic Ministry of Local Industry, which built during the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans in rayons possessing manpower reserves new enterprises and introduced production capacities amounting to more than 80 million rubles. This made it possible not only to solve to some degree questions of job placement of the population in these regions but also through the means of local raw materials to produce "thousands of trifles" that are so necessary for the population. It appears practicable to achieve further expansion of the volume of production of local industry through the working of deposits of colored stones--pigments, perlites, diatomites and others.

Under conditions where more than half of the republic's territory slopes in excess of 16 degrees, where many rural rayons are located 2,000 meters above sea level, we are going to implement in the very near future serious

measures for raising the efficiency of agricultural production: to put into operation 20,000 hectares of new irrigated lands and to carry out complex operations relating to irrigation of saline lands of the Ararat Plain, which serves as the main agricultural-production region in the republic.

A most difficult problem is providing agriculture with irrigating water. Both its solution and the intensive development of the republic's industry forced turning many years ago to the age-old reserves of unique Lake Sevan, which, incidentally, is the only long-term source of drinking water in Armenia. As a result, the level of the lake has dropped by about 30 meters; this has strongly influence the ecology both of the lake itself and of the surrounding environment. For the purpose of increasing intensiveness of agriculture and solving Lake Sevan's problems, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree "On Measures for Further Developing and Increasing the Effectiveness of Irrigation Farming in Armenian SSR" and "On Measures for the Protection and Rational Utilization of the Natural Resources of Lake Sevan." They provide for the construction of 16 water reservoirs with a volume of about one billion cubic meters. The construction of a unique hydraulic engineering structure is approaching completion--a 48-kilometers tunnel from Arpa to Sevan. Through this tunnel a significant portion of water from the Arpa and Vorotan rivers will be brought to Sevan. Together with the construction of the water reservoirs and work of improving the irrigation system, this will make it possible to improve to some degree the ecology of the lake and the surrounding environment and to utilize efficiently the limited water resources of the republic.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of the republic, taking into consideration the limited possibilities of agricultural production and the exceptionally favorable conditions for the cultivation of tomatoes in hothouses, came out with a proposal on construction in the republic 250-300 hectares of hothouses with subsequent expansion of their areas. This will make it possible in the winter months to supply fresh tomatoes to large cities and industrial centers of the country. There can be no doubt that for the solution of such a serious task, the republic will require assistance connected with assignment of limits for construction and installation work, mechanisms and pertinent material-technical supply.

The year 1980 is a special year for our republic. We shall celebrate this year the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet power and the forming of the Communist Party of Armenia. The collectives of many enterprises committed themselves to complete the five-year plan by 29 November--the jubilee of Soviet Armenia. In addition, there will be put out in excess of the target manufactured products in the amount of 350 million rubles. The republic's agricultural workers assumed the commitment of overfulfilling the annual and five-year plans for purchases of all the chief types of agricultural products. More than 48,000 and the collectives of 1,400 brigade, sectors and shops decided to complete the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan by 22 April 1980. We are convinced that the commitments made by the republic's workers will be fulfilled with honor.

To secure last year's success in the course of the present shock work effort and to work today better than yesterday form the motto of the socialist competition which is being launched ever more widely at enterprises, construction projects and on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Its slogan--"For a red-banner five-year plan for the republic" has been advanced at leading collectives; every day finds an increasing number of followers and is assuming more truly a mass character.

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## REGIONAL

### PARTY MEETING REVIEWS PROBLEMS, PROGRESS OF NAKHICHEVAN ASSR

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 27 May 80 p 1

[Meeting of the party and economic activists of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic: "To Bring About a Further Rise in the Economy and Culture of the Nakhichevan ASSR"]

[Text] A meeting of the party and economic activists of the autonomous republic was devoted to the course of carrying out the decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the instructions voiced in the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at it, and to the tasks of the communists and all the workers of the Nakhichevan ASSR

K. N. Ragimov, first secretary of the Nakhichevanskaya party obkom gave a report.

Speaking in the debates were: B. Kh. Mamedov, first secretary of the Nakhichevan party gorkom, S. G. Kuimov, welder from the PMK-51 [Mobile Mechanized Column] of Trust No 5 and deputy of the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet, Yu. A. Ismailov, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni 50-Letiye SSSR in Il'ichevskiy Rayon and deputy of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, T. D. Mamedov, director of the Electrical Equipment Plant, and G. M. Ibragimov, secretary-in-charge of the Nakhichevan Division of the Azerbaijan Union of Writers.

During these times, in the Nakhichevan ASSR, as throughout Azerbaijan, the meeting stated, their reigns and unprecedented political and labor upsurge brought about by the celebrating of the 110th birthday of V. I. Lenin, the 60th anniversary of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijan Communist Party [ACP]. The industry of the autonomous republic has fulfilled the 5-year quota ahead of time for the growth rate of the production volume. In recent years gross agricultural product has increased by more than 3-fold. Science and culture are developing successfully, and the prosperity of the workers of the region is constantly growing.

On behalf of the workers of the Nakhichevan ASSR, the speakers expressed warm approval and support for the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and Soviet government aimed at a flourishing of all the

fraternal peoples of our nation, the development of the economy and culture, and the strengthening of peace throughout the world. They stated that the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in Soviet Nakhichevan will devote all their force, knowledge and energy to the cause of further strengthening the economic and defense might of our great motherland, and by new labor feats celebrate the 26th CPSU Congress.

The communists and all the workers of the Nakhichevan ASSR, the speakers said, are totally grateful to their Communist Party, to the Soviet government, and to personally to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, for paternal concern for the working people and for the continuous rise in the standard of living of the Soviet people.

Giving a major speech at the meeting was the candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the ACP Communist Party, G. A. Aliyev, who was warmly welcomed by the activists.

The present meeting of the party and economic activists of the Nakhichevan ASSR, he said, is devoted to the fulfillment by the workers of the autonomous republic of the decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions given in the speech at it by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and in his subsequent speeches.

Everywhere in the Soviet nation, the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee plenums are being successfully carried out. During the time which has passed since the congress, in all areas of socio-economic life of our society, significant changes have occurred, and great advances have been made. The economic and defense might of our motherland has been strengthened, and the main goal of the party has been consistently realized, that is, an extensive program of improving the material prosperity of the Soviet people. The authority of the Communist Party and the Soviet government has been increased on the international scene, and the positions of our nation in the world have been strengthened. All of this is the result of the party's wise leadership of the Soviet people and of the effective and unflagging activities of the CPSU Central Committee, and the faithful continuers of Lenin's cause, the courageous fighter for peace and communism, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The workers of Soviet Azerbaijan have achieved remarkable achievements in all areas of the economy, science and culture during the years of the Ninth and Tenth five-year plans. They have successfully carried out the party's plans. In speaking of this, Comrade Aliyev noted that all our achievements have been manifested with particular clarity during the period of the recent ceremonies devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and the ACP. The jubilee has become a true holiday of friendship, fraternity and solidarity of all the Soviet peoples and a triumph of internationalism. Again and again it demonstrated the unswerving loyalty of the Azerbaijan

people to the party, to our socialist society, to the cause of the great Lenin, and to the banner of October.

We are well aware that all the achievements by the republic's workers have been due to the unstinting work of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and to the great and effective work carried out by the republic party organization. These accomplishments have been the result of the party's wise Leninist nationality policy, and the constant and enormous aid and paternal concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the Soviet government, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for the flourishing of Soviet Azerbaijan.

On the basis of what has been achieved, G. A. Aliyev went on, we should create all the conditions so that in the future we can work even better, and establish a good basis for a further rise in the effectiveness of our work during the 11th Five-Year Plan. In this regard great and complicated tasks confront the workers of the Nakhichevan ASSR. They successfully completed the quotas of the 10th Five-Year Plan in terms of the growth rate of industrial production, and are now hard at work to fulfill the 1980 plans and obligations as well as the five-year plan as a whole for all indicators ahead of time.

In analyzing the development of the economy in the Nakhichevan ASSR, Comrade Aliyev pointed out that, regardless of significant advances made over the last 10 years, its indicators are still below the average republic level. This is largely explained by the serious backwardness of the autonomous republic in previous years. For this reason the main goal of the program presently being worked out for a further rise in the Nakhichevan economy is to ensure the development of the kray in the 11th Five-Year Plan at a higher pace, and to turn it into one of the most advanced regions of our republic.

This can be achieved primarily by a continuous rise in the industrial potential of the autonomous republic, by creating new large industrial projects and by increasing the capacity of the existing ones. On the economic map of Nakhichevan, recently a number of modern enterprises have appeared, and at present a knitted underwear mill, a carpet weaving combine and a mineral water bottling plant are under construction. There are plans for a complete reconstruction of the Ordubad cocoon reeling mill and for creating food and local industry enterprises. In the next five-year plan, there are plans to increase the capacity of the Nakhichevan Electrical Equipment Plant. All of this will make it possible for the Nakhichevan ASSR to become a major industrial center of Azerbaijan.

The agricultural workers also have important tasks ahead of them, as in the present spring agriculture suffered serious losses due to natural disasters. It is pleasing to note that due to the great efforts on the spot, the consequences of the disaster are being successfully overcome. The ACP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the other republic organizations are providing the required practical aid to the agricultural workers who

must make a maximum effort to successfully meet the plans and socialist obligations for 1980.

Having taken up the problems of further increasing the yield of the agricultural crops and the productiveness of livestock, Comrade Aliyev particularly emphasized the great importance of the ever fuller supply of the farms with irrigation water, the broad development of water management construction in the kray, and the creating of a sound feed supply. Having the long run in mind, it is essential to initiate work in farm specialization more actively.

The better use of the productive forces and the natural riches of the ancient region will make possible the further development of science in Nakhichevan. Great work is being carried out by the scientific center of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences which has been set up in the autonomous republic and by other institutions staffed with their own scientists who are carrying out original and important research. It is essential to constantly increase the effectiveness of the scientific developments and more closely link them to practice.

Comrade Aliyev then focused the activist's attention on the problem of the further improvement of the cities and villages in the autonomous republic and above all its capital. At the end of the present year, natural gas will arrive in Nakhichevan, however a number of rayons are still not ready to receive it, and the laying of the gas network for connecting the residential buildings to the main line has been intolerably held up. A great lag is also observed in the construction of roads which in the next five-year plan must be brought up to modern needs. It is essential to build more housing and sociocultural projects. The historical monuments must be carefully protected and restored, and in all population points obelisks must be put up in honor of the persons who fell during the years of the Great Patriotic War and in memory of the heroes. This is our sacred duty.

Having noted the great work of the party's obkom and its bureau to improve the situation and to better the moral and psychological climate in the Nakhichevan ASSR, G. A. Aliyev took up the tasks of the oblast party organization in the area of improving the recruitment, placement and indoctrination of the personnel, and raising the discipline, exactingness, and sense of responsibility of the leading workers for the assigned job. It is essential, he stressed, to create a reserve of cadres in the autonomous republic, and to more boldly promote to responsible positions the youth, the capable and able communists and economic workers who excel in high ideological loyalty and principles. The necessary conditions for their work must be created. The leaders of the party bodies must establish closer ties with the working masses, they must thoroughly know the state of affairs on the spot, and must respond carefully to each letter, warning or petition from the citizens.

The party obkom, gorkom and raykom must improve ideological work, raise the political and economic knowledge of the workers, inform the masses promptly

of the policies and documents of the CPSU, and pay more attention to the dissemination of political literature. Unfortunately, in this important area there still are shortcomings, and individual leaders and party workers are even little concerned with political self-education.

Comrade Aliyev went on to say, all our achievements to the Leninist nationality policy of our party, and to the unshakable friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples headed by our elder brother, the great Russian people. We must constantly add to this remarkable wealth and transmit from generation to generation the love and respect of the Azerbaijani people for all the peoples of the Soviet country.

Soviet Nakhichevan is a small particle of our great motherland, of our socialist society. It is located in one of the southernmost points of the nation, while Azerbaijan is called the outpost of socialism in the East; we consider in our republic that Nakhichevan is this outpost. During our trip through its cities and villages, it was pleasant to hear from the mouths of the people heartfelt words of ardent gratitude to the Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, our people well understand and highly praise the activities of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, the Soviet government, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

During these days, with the participation of the leaders of the Nakhichevan ASSR and certain ministries and departments of Azerbaijan, we have carried out great work for the purpose of providing help to the autonomous Republic in the area of further raising the economy and culture. The targets for the plan of the socioeconomic development of the Nakhichevan ASSR during the 11th Five-Year Plan are basically determined. Our task is to ensure their successful implementation.

Comrade Aliyev wished the activists and through them all the workers of Soviet Nakhichevan new successes during the labor watch of the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and by great accomplishments to celebrate the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th ACP Congress.

Participating in the work of the conference was P. F. Aicksayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Dzhul'finskij Electoral District of the Nakhichevan ASSR and editor-in-chief of the newspaper IZVESTIYA, and S. K. Abbasaliyev and F. G. Ahmedov, deputy chairmen of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers.

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TRIP OF A. G. ALTYEV IN NAKHICHEVAN ASSR REPORTED

Baku NAKHICHEVAN RABOCHIY in Russian 27 May 80 pp 1, 2

[Report on the trip of G. A. Aliyev in the Nakhichevan ASSR by G. Grigoryan, V. Morozov and M. Reidov, special correspondents of Azerinform, Nakhichevan--Baku, 26 May: "Meetings on the Lands of the Ancient Region"]

(Text) While in the Nakhichevan ASSR on 21-24 May, Comrade G. A. Aliyev visited the industrial and agricultural enterprises, the water management projects, new construction sites and scientific and cultural-educational institutions, where he talked with workers, kolkhoz members, specialists, scientists, veterans and young people, economic and party leaders, showing an interest in their lives, successes, needs and requests.

Comrade Aliyev arrived in the autonomous republic from Yerevan, where he had participated in a meeting of the Military Council of the Red Banner Transcaucasian Military District. The inhabitants of Il'ichevskiy Rayon gave a warm greeting to G. A. Aliyev and to K. S. Demirchyan, secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, who arrived with him.

G. A. Aliyev spoke at a friendship meeting held in the village of Sadarak in Il'ichevskiy Rayon.

I arrived in the Nakhichevan ASSR, he said, because of the natural disaster which recently befell the autonomous republic and which caused damage to a number of farms, in order to become familiar with how you are living and how you are surmounting the arising difficulties. Having warmly welcomed K. S. Demirchyan on Azerbaijan land, Comrade Aliyev on behalf of those present and all the workers of the republic, expressed the best feelings for the fraternal Armenian people, and wished them success, happiness and good fortune. Our republic, he said, has a long frontier with Armenia, we are in one region, and have lived together for centuries.

The friendship and cooperation of the Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples have deep roots and a fine history. Our grandfathers and great grandfathers fought together against foreign invaders for liberty and independence. And for 60 years now, we have jointly been building our Soviet socialist society.

Recently we solemnly celebrated the 60th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan, and in November we will celebrate the same happy jubilee for the fraternal Armenian republic. During the six Soviet decades, the Armenian workers have made enormous strides in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples. An important role in this has been played by the close ties and cooperation which have existed for many years between our republics, and the traditional socialist competition of the workers which helps to carry out the responsible tasks of communist construction. Our friendship and fraternity are as hard as granite, they represent an incomparable force, and are eternal and inviolable for all times.

K. G. Demirchyan who spoke at the meeting expressed sincere gratitude for the warm welcome and for the good feelings directed toward the Armenian workers.

The fraternal Azerbaijan people, he said, recently celebrated the 60th anniversary of their republic. I had the good fortune to be present during those unforgettable days in Baku, and to witness the enormous political and labor upsurge which reigns in Azerbaijan. With enormous attention we listened to the report of Comrade G. A. Aliyev at the ceremony in which he gave a vivid picture of the rapid development of the Azerbaijan republic in the united Soviet family under the leadership of the Communist Party. We saw with our own eyes how the appearance of Azerbaijan has altered, and what heights its workers have reached in the economic and social areas. With all our heart we are pleased with your successes.

Comrade Demirchyan particularly noted the achievements of the Azerbaijan workers over the last 10 years which, he said, are an example for the other Soviet republics. These accomplishments are the result of the enormous labor which the Azerbaijan people have invested in carrying out the party's plans. They rest upon the great political and organizational work of the republic party organization, and the central committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party [ACP] headed by Comrade G. A. Aliyev.

We feel the manifestations of the friendship and fraternity between our peoples literally every day, every hour and every instant. We together are living a happy life, we are working and moving confidently toward a communist future.

In taking advantage of this occasion, said Comrade Demirchyan in conclusion, I would again like to congratulate you on the 60th jubilee of the republic, and to wish happiness and prosperity to the fraternal Azerbaijan people so that it, under the leadership of the republic party organization, a militant detachment of the CPSU, can make even greater strides, achieving new successes, and make the entire 10th and then the 11th five-year plans red banner ones.

...The ancient land of Nakhichevan is beautiful in the spring flowering. The beauty of the mountain region is austere and noble, and the people who live and work here are capable of embodying these qualities. True character,

Fire and spirit and solidarity have been demonstrated by the people of Nakhichevan, even in the middle of April an unprecedented natural disaster befell the autonomous republic. Even the akhuls [elders] could not recall such hardships which befell the farmers. scarcely had the nearby mountains been decked in snow-white flowering orchards and the first tender shoots had appeared on the grape vines when a severe frost struck and many thousands of hectares of early shoots and vine runners were killed, buried under the snow drifts. The situation was further complicated by the hurricane-force winds and downpours which led to the flooding of the Araks River. But the people did not flinch, and all the able-bodied population, equipment and transport were thrown into rescuing the plantings and orchards, operating two and three shifts.

How the consequences of the bad weather were being overcome was reported to Comrade Aliyev by the wine growers of the republic's largest sovkhoz (then) 60-Letiye Oktyabrya in Il'ichevskiy Rayon. On three vineyards which had been struck by the frost, within a short time there was topdressing of the plantings in doubled doses of mineral fertilizers, the soil was loosened and there was abundant irrigating. This contributed to a 100-percent recovery of the vines.

"We have good prospects for the crop," said the worker Ialazar Alirzayeva, deputy of the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet and winner of the prize of the Lenin Azerbaijan Komsomol, in voicing a common opinion. In the last season she harvested the highest berry crop in the autonomous republic, some 407 quintals per hectare. "This is why, having successfully overcome the difficulties, the collective of our sovkhoz has even increased its socialist pledges and plans to sell to the state a thousand tons of grapes above what was previously planned."

G. A. Aliyev approved the initiative of the leading collective, and recommended that the experience of the sovkhoz be widely spread among all the vineyard farms which had been hit by bad weather. They are doing completely the right thing, he said, where they immediately eliminate the severe consequences of the disaster, and are working to restore the vineyards and receive the largest possible crop from them.

In this regard the Nakhichevan vintners were given the task of intensifying the pace of field work and carrying out even better cultivation of the soil and treatment of the grapes. An important reserve in the struggle for future harvests is the elimination of the sparse grape plantings and maximum use of the possibilities of irrigation. The attention of the leaders of the State Committee for Viticulture and Wine Making and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources in Azerbaijan has been drawn to this. It is essential to restore the former glory of the traditional Nakhichevan varieties of table vine such as "Malai," "Kishmish," "Khalili," and "Shafey." During the present year, particular concern must be shown for organizing the purchase of grapes from the population, and not allow the crop to be lost from the individual vineyards.

The problems of restoring the damaged vineyards, organizing exemplary tendling of them, the prompt preparation of the farms and processing of the grapes for the harvesting, and carrying out the harvesting in a short period of time and without losses were also the subject of discussion on the workhorses Iman Aliyev, Bakhchibayashov AZSR in Dzhenevskiy Rayon, Iman Orishonikidze in Babekskiy Rayon, Dzhil'ya, and Iman M. B. Orlyanov in Dzhil'vinskiy Rayon, Iman N. Alikhakov in Shakhbulayev Rayon, and others.

The grape growers of Nakhichevan Sovkhoz, the youngest of the autonomous republic in Babekskiy Rayon, have lined the valley in ideally even green rows. At the field camp of the leading brigade of Dagestan Kurmanov, the young worker and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Tariq Imanverdiyeva, on behalf of her comrades, expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party and the Soviet government, and personally to dear L. I. Brezhnev, for the constant concern for the rural workers. We felt, she said, the special concern and help of our state during the hour of great hardships, when the future crop, the income of the farm and our common well-being were in jeopardy. We received additional equipment, mineral fertilizers and building materials. And our redoubled efforts and even more productive labor for successfully fulfilling the quotas of the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan will become our thanks for all of this.

With great satisfaction Comrade Aliyev commented on the high political and labor mood of the farmers, and the feeling of civil duty which was particularly apparent in the combating of the disaster. When calamity comes, he said, people at times become lost. But you, the workers of the young region, did not lose spirit, and fully showed the firm will, endurance and self-sacrifice which are inherent to the inhabitants of your ancient land. And I am confident that you will fully prevail over the serious testing brought about by nature, and you will achieve new successes for the sake of the flourishing of our beloved socialist motherland.

This friendly meeting at the field camp lasted a long time. G. A. Aliyev spoke with the inhabitants of the neighboring villages of Zeynaddin, Kyul'tepe, Leninabad and Andzhafalidza, where he had visited previously, and was interested in their living conditions and earnings. Meetings with old acquaintances were particularly stirring.

Like an enormous fragment of the blue sky, the Arpachayskoye Reservoir has descended on the stoney shoulders of the gray great mountains. The waters of this man-made sea in the Davaolan Gorge have given life to enormous areas of land which now produce rich crops of grain, grapes, vegetables and tobacco. From a bird's eye view, having climbed to a viewing platform, Comrade Aliyev cherished the beautiful panorama of the giant reservoir which holds tens of millions of cubic meters of life-giving moisture. He was told that water management construction in the autonomous republic has gained greatest development during the years of the Ninth and Tenth five-year plans. Over this time, fixed capital was completed valued at 7-fold more than over the previous decade. Becoming acquainted with the state of

affairs and the prospects for further water supply of the farms. Comrade Aliyev also visited the Uralchay and Datalchay reservoirs. He pointed out the shortcomings which impede the even broader development of water management which is a decisive factor for a further rise in the agricultural production of the autonomous republic. In particular, attention was drawn to the inacceptably low rates of reconstruction and construction of projects in the Arpachay complex. As a result of this significant land resources have still not been put into the service of man. As quickly as possible, even this year, it is essential to begin building the Vayalchay reservoir, and continuously increase the volume of construction work and improve its quality. The closest attention should be paid to the advanced experience of Khanlarakiy, Shemakhinskiy, Moshallinskiy and other rayons in introducing water-saving irrigation. One of the important reserves in water supply is also the "kyagriy" or shaft wells, the artesian wells and springs.

The subterranean riches of ancient Nakhichevan are great and bountious, and from the earth for many centuries have fountained around 150 types of mineral waters. Comrade Aliyev met with the labor collectives of the Sirabskiy and Badamlinskiy mineral water bottling plants. At the Sirabskiy plant there is a map of the nation with the names of scores of cities where this famous water is sent. A new automatic line is in operation at the Badamlinskiy plant. Comrade Aliyev warmly congratulated the participants in the development of the methods for obtaining natural carbon dioxide from mineral springs on the awarding of the Azerbaijan State Prize, he inspected these original devices which have been created for the first time in practice. He also visited the bubbling Darydag spring, the medicinal waters of which are marked by a high content of arsenic and other elements.

An increase in the production of mineral waters which are in ever greater demand among the workers requires, Comrade Aliyev stressed, a further increase in bottling capacity and the rapid completion of this capacity. These questions were discussed during a visit to a mineral water bottling plant under construction and to the Nakhichevan glass packaging plant which recently went into operation and is the largest enterprise in the autonomous republic.

Ordubad is rightly called one of the pearls of the Azerbaijan lands with the unique beauty of its orchards, waterfalls and mountain lakes. The present deeds of its workers are adding to the glory of the city as an architectural monument and the homeland of prominent Azerbaijan scientists and cultural leaders.

At the Ordubad cannery, the head enterprise of the agroindustrial association, Comrade Aliyev visited the shops where they make jams, compotes and juices, and spoke with the workers. Year in and year out the well-being of the Soviet people is improving, he said, addressing the plant workers, and it is our duty to more fully satisfy their growing demands, to produce more canned goods, and improve their taste qualities and appearance. I am

certain that the new modern enterprise producing canned fruits which will appear in your region in the next few years will be of decisive significance here.

This conversation was continued in the shade of the apricot trees with the workers from the factory imeni V. I. Lenin, and in the record-holding brigade for the fruit harvest of Madzhi Faradzhev. The fruit raisers were that they would not fall behind the predecessors, and in following the initiative of the Yampol' workers along with the plant employees, would struggle for an high output of end product. The Ordubad cannning workers have already taken their first steps to increase the raw material supplies. Through the efforts of the people, on the unpopulated, sun-baked virgin lands, at the foot of the rocky hills, a young orchard has appeared. Water has been brought here from the Araks, and the first rainmaking machines have appeared. The orchard raisers from the new Novkhov imeni Yu. Mamedaliyev which has been organized here asked Comrade Aliyev to help the farm get pumps, pipe, and rock-clearing equipment, and proper instructions were issued to the appropriate republic organizations.

One of the traditional professions of Ordubad is commercial silk raising which was organized here over 150 years ago. But the presently existing cocoon reeling mill which sends its products to nine cities of the nation no longer meets present-day requirements, and has lagged behind due to obsolete equipment and irregular deliveries of raw materials. For the purposes of reducing the amount of cocoons which must be shipped in, over the last 2 years the plantings of mulberry have been significantly increased in the region, and an additional million mulberry trees have been planted.

But the solution to the problem, G. P. Aliyev pointed out upon arriving at the mill, is possible only by building a new highly mechanized enterprise, and the republic Ministry of Light Industry should settle this question in the near future. In this regard, Comrade Aliyev took up the problem of further developing the productive forces of the rayon. In Ordubad, there has been a proposal to build a carpet mill with 500 employees. Even now it is time to give thought to the specialists and artists who must restore the famous traditions of carpet weaving in this area. The crushed rock plant which is under construction here will also make it possible to improve employment for the population.

In the special design bureau of radiophysical instrument building under the Institute for Space Research on Natural Resources of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, Comrade Aliyev became acquainted with the new projects of the Ordubad scientists.

G. A. Aliyev placed flowers on the monument to the Hero of the Soviet Union Nedzhafkuli Rafiyev on the main square of the city, where a large meeting was held, and he inspected the exhibits at the museum houses of Academician Yu. G. Mamedaliyev and writer M. S. Ordubady.

With unfeigned pride, the farmers and livestock raisers of the Sovkhoz imeni M. D. Ordubady in Dzhul'finskiy Rayon told of their famous fellow countrymen. More than 70 persons from the village of Taldzhi, where 140 years ago the first rural school in Bakhchisarai was opened, are doctors and candidates of sciences. And standing like a symbol of the scientific glory of the village is the experimental unit set up not far from it by the Institute of Inorganic and Physical Chemistry of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, and one of the functions of the unit is to produce gel, a substance which significantly improves the yield of farm crops. In becoming acquainted with the work of the researchers, Comrade Aliyev approved their searches, and voiced a desire for this interesting achievement to be introduced more rapidly into practice.

In the course of the trip through the autonomous republic, G. A. Aliyev focused the attention of the leaders of the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic bodies on the need to further raise the cultural level of the workers and to strengthen the ideological and moral indoctrination of the younger generation. In recent years a good deal has been done in this area, and great changes have occurred. They can be clearly seen from the example of Shakhbuzskiy Rayon which is the most remote rayon in our republic.

In driving along the new paved route which has reached this previously backward rayon, he said, and in becoming acquainted with the villages where new stone houses, rural clubs, schools and stores have risen on the site of primitive clay buildings, and in speaking with the inhabitants, one can see with one's own eyes how successfully one of the main social tasks posed by our party is being carried out, namely a constant elimination of differences between city and countryside. Both the external and spiritual appearance of the rural workers has changed.

"Now our young people," said the 24-year-old farm party committee secretary, Khatira Kafarovna, at a meeting on the Sovkhoz imeni Kalinin, "is showing increased interest in the questions of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government and international life, for art and literature, and they take a willing part in the amateur artistic circles. All of this helps our young men and women to work creatively, in a good mood."

At an altitude of 2,400 meters above sea level, in the mountains lies the Batabad Observatory, one of the youngest in the nation, but it has already won great authority in the area of studying the sun's corona. Invited as a guest of the astronomers who are working on one of the world's largest solar telescopes, Comrade Aliyev was interested in the research results and examined the unique photographs of the heavenly body.

In Il'ichevskiy, Batabadskiy, Ordubadskiy, Dzhul'finskiy and Shakhbuzskiy rayons, G. A. Aliyev visited the party raykoms, where he had extended conversations with the party, soviet and economic activists.

In the process of the visit to the autonomous republic, a major place was given to becoming acquainted with its capital, and to the problems of the further development of the industrial and cultural potential and public amenities in the city. During the years of the Ninth and Tenth five-year plans, light industry became one of the basic sectors now determining the industrial appearance of the Nakhichevan ASSR. In the near future its flagship will be the knitted underwear mill which is now under construction. This mill will have a capacity of more than 2 million pieces a year, and it will employ around 1,500 persons.

At the construction site Comrade Aliyev became acquainted with the course of construction. In talking with the workers he emphasized the importance of this construction project not only for developing the economy of the Nakhichevan ASSR, but also in solving an important social problem, that is, increasing employment for the working-age population. At the same time, here the plans are not being carried out, and the pace and quality of the construction and installation work are extremely low. The Azerbaijan Gosplan and the appropriate ministries and departments must immediately rectify the situation and provide practical aid to the construction workers.

Construction has also been started in Nakhichevan on a plant for large-panel housing construction. In talking with the collective, a specific goal was set for them, that is, as rapidly as possible to complete the building of this important project in the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is essential even now to make certain that the houses which will be manufactured at the new enterprise excel in individual architectural features, have an attractive external appearance and be of national colors. In erecting the buildings, it is essential to make fullest use of local facing materials in which the region is so rich, in particular the Shakhtakhta travertine which has won great popularity in many cities of the nation.

Comrade Aliyev walked through the streets, squares and parks of Nakhichevan, and made a number of practical recommendations to improve the layout, amenities and landscaping of the city. In becoming familiar with the general plan of the capital, he stressed the need, in its further development, of organically combining the surviving masterpieces of the old Azerbaijan architecture with the new modern architectural solutions.

G. A. Aliyev had a talk at the Nakhichevan Scientific Center of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences. He visited the museum home of Guseyn Dzhavid which is being set up, a monument of the 12th century created by the prominent Azerbaijan architect Adzhemi Nakhichevanskiy, and the mausoleum of Mominekhatur.

At the Nakhichevanskaya obkom, with the participation of leaders from the autonomous republic, the Azerbaijan Gosplan, ministries, and departments, practical questions were discussed relating to the economic development of the Nakhichevan ASSR in the 11th Five-Year Plan, and specific measures were outlined to implement them.

At the party session, a meeting was held with the party, war and labor veterans. The speakers including A. Gusaynov, chairman of the trade union obkom for the workers in education, the higher school and scientific institutions, A. Alibayov, a worker from the Nakhichevan seed-raising station and honored agronomist of Azerbaijan, Col (Res) A. Akhmedov, chairman of the oblast war veterans committee, B. Rustamov, director of the Nakhichevan Local Industry Combine, the lawyer J. Geydarov, and others strongly approved the wise domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government aimed at a further rise in the economic and defense might of our nation and an improvement in the well-being of the people. They earnestly thanked the party and the government and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for the constant attention and concern for the veterans. The speakers expressed unanimous support for the practical activities of the ACP Central Committee and its Bureau in the area of creating a healthy moral atmosphere in the republic and in waging an irreconcilable struggle against any sort of negative phenomena and abuses.

In expressing satisfaction with the meeting with the party, war and labor veterans and with the honored and respected persons of the Nakhichevan ASSR, G. A. Aliyev emphasized that such measures have become a good tradition for the ACP Central Committee. For us it is very important and useful to know your opinion, he said, about the work which the republic party organization is carrying out to implement the party's plans, and to listen to the advice and requests which help in improving our activities in the future. Certainly many of you were active participants in the struggle for the victory and strengthening of Soviet power in Nakhichevan, in the socialist transformation of the region, and you have acquired enormous and invaluable experience.

The veterans should take an active part in sociopolitical life and help to win ever higher goals in communist construction. They must carry out particularly important work in the political, moral and labor indoctrination of the younger generation, and instill in the youth a feeling of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Aliyev wished the old communists and the heroes of war and labor good health, good fortune, long years of life and new successes in the name of our great socialist motherland.

G. A. Aliyev also visited the border troops and became acquainted with their life and service successes.

On behalf of the ACP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, and all its workers he warmly congratulated the soldiers who were formed up on the drilling field on the occasion of the approaching holiday, the anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Border Troops. Your subunit which is as old as the nation's border troops, said Comrade Aliyev, is serving worthily and with honor on one of the important sectors, in defending the southern frontiers of our motherland.

In speaking about the international situation which has recently become more complicated due to the fault of the imperialist circles in the West and primarily the U.S. administration, G. A. Aliyev emphasized that this places a particular responsibility on the Soviet people to preserve peace in the world. The ACP Central Committee has consistently carried out measures aimed at raising the vigilance of the republic's inhabitants, particularly in its border rayons. The security of the state frontier must be strengthened in every possible way, and the military skills and expertise of the border troops must be improved.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally, in constantly and unwaveringly carrying out the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR, are devoting enormous attention to strengthening the defense capability of our motherland. In this context the border troops are confronted with very important and responsible missions to dependably ensure the integrity and inviolability of our sacred frontiers. And we are confident that you will worthily carry out all these missions, in the future you will vigilantly protect the peaceful creative labor of the Soviet people, and you will honorably justify the high trust shown to the soldiers of the Soviet nation by the party and the people.

Comrade Aliyev urged the border troops to always be in the front ranks of the district troops, and to greet the 26th CPSU Congress with new successes in military and political training.

Capt S. D. Sotnikov, Maj A. A. Lagutin, and Maj Gen M. D. Masirov, the deputy chief of the Red Banner Transcaucasian Red Border District, were grateful for the sincere congratulations on the coming holiday, Border Troop Day, and vowed that the border troops would always be loyal to their oath, they would constantly increase vigilance, improve military skills and expertise, and dependably guard the USSR state frontier on the southern borders of the motherland.

Accompanied by the band, the men in green caps marched past the rostrum.

During the trip through the autonomous republic, G. A. Aliyev was accompanied by K. N. Ragimov, first secretary of the Nakhichevanakaya obkom, S. K. Abbasaliyev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Azerbaijan Gosplan, S. A. Aliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet, and I. A. Mekhtiyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Council of Ministers.

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DECREE ON 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF KAZAKHSTAN

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 80 pp 1-2

[Decree of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party on the 60th Anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Kazakhstan Communist Party]

[Text] 26 August 1980 marks the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Kazakhstan Communist Party. This is an important date in the history of Kazakhstan and the republic party organization, and a major event in the sociopolitical life of the republic. The Kazakh people and all the workers of multinational Soviet Kazakhstan are celebrating the noteworthy date in a mood of an enormous political and labor upsurge caused by the celebrating of the 110th birthday of V. I. Lenin and the 35th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and by the socialist competition for successfully carrying out the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

For six decades, the Kazakh people and the workers of the republic, in carrying out the immortal legacy of Lenin, and under the leadership of the CPSU and its militant detachment, the Kazakhstan Communist Party [KCP], are steadfastly following the glorious path of struggle and accomplishments in the unified fraternal family of peoples of the great Soviet nation, in convincingly demonstrating their wholehearted loyalty to the victorious ideals of October, to the great cause of the Communist Party, and to the noble principles of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the unshakable unity of the Soviet peoples, as inexhaustible sources of invincible strength and might of our motherland, the USSR.

The sociopolitical, economic and cultural sources of the mutual cooperation and friendship between the Kazakh people and the great Russian and other fraternal peoples of the nation go far back over the centuries. The voluntary annexation of Kazakhstan by Russia started almost 250 years ago, and this became the turning point in the history of Kazakhstan, having once and for all determined the unity and commonness of fates with the great Russian people.

Regardless of the reactionary essence of the policy of the Tsarist autocracy, the entry of Kazakhstan as part of Russia which in the words of F. Marx and F. Engels was "a leading detachment of the revolutionary movement in Europe," was of great progressive significance. It contributed to substantial positive shifts in the sociopolitical and economic life of the region, and actively aided the propagation of democratic Russian and world culture as well as revolutionary ideas. This annexation decisively broke up the national isolation and led to the drawing together of workers from different nationalities.

The great joint struggle against the exploiters for true social and national liberty was led by the Russian proletariat and the Bolshevik party which was founded and led by V. I. Lenin. This party led the assault on the old world by the workers of all the suppressed peoples of Tsarist Russia.

The Marxist circles and the social democratic groups and organizations which marked the beginning of creating a party organization in Kazakhstan during the years of the first Russian revolution widely disseminated the great ideas of V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik party among the workers of the region, and they organized joint revolutionary actions by the workers of all nationalities, rallying them around the Russian proletariat. During the period of preparations for the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Bolsheviks of Kazakhstan carried out significant political work in bringing the workers over to the side of the party.

In following the Bolshevik party and the Russian working class, the Kazakh workers were aware of the commonness of their own fundamental, class interests with the interests of the workers of other peoples. Tsarism was dealt a serious blow by the popular liberation revolt of 1916 in Central Asia and Kazakhstan and which joined with the general Russian revolutionary movement.

Great October, the main event of the 20th century, destroyed and eliminated the hated exploiting system in Russia, it brought all the Russian peoples full liberation from social and national suppression, and led them to the highway of creating a new world. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution met the age-old aspirations of all the suppressed peoples, including the working Kazakh people.

The Bolsheviks of Kazakhstan, guided by the party Central Committee, led the broadest masses of the people in support of the revolution. The establishing and strengthening of Soviet power in Kazakhstan everywhere occurred under the immediate leadership of V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party. After Petrograd, Moscow and the other proletarian centers of the nation, Soviet power during November 1917--March 1918 was established over the entire territory of the region.

In the flames of the Civil War forced upon the young Soviet republic by the overthrown exploiting classes and by the foreign intervention, the workers of Kazakhstan with weapons in hand defended the victories of October

in the battles against all brands of counterrevolutionaries, the hirelings of the counterrevolutionaries and their supporters. The Russian working class and the workers of the world's first worker and peasant state provided inestimable aid to Kazakhstan in this struggle.

V. I. Lenin, the leader of the world's proletariat and the instigator and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, stood at the sources of Kazakh Soviet statehood. Under his leadership, all the founding documents were worked out for creating the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. On 10 July 1919, he signed the Decree "On the Revolutionary Committee to Manage the Kirgiz (Kazakh) Kray." This committee was given the leadership over the activities of the local soviets and the preparations for the constituent congress of soviets of the Kazakh ASSR. On 26 August 1920, over the signatures of V. I. Lenin and M. I. Kalinin, the Decree of the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] and RSFSR Sovnarkom [Soviet of People's Commissars] "On the Formation of the Autonomous Kirgiz (Kazakh) Socialist Soviet Republic" was promulgated. This major act in the new life of the Kazakh people is inscribed in gold letters in their history.

The constituent congress of the Kazakh soviets in October 1920 proclaimed the formation of the Kazakh ASSR as part of the Russian Federation, and approved the "Declaration of Rights of the Kazakh Workers." The congress expressed the will of the working Kazakh people to live in friendship and fraternal alliance with the great Russian people and with all the peoples of our country.

The creation of the USSR in 1922 upon the initiative of V. I. Lenin played a prominent role in the development of all the republics and in strengthening their ideological and political unity.

By this time, under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, the party Central Committee, and with the aid of its plenipotentiary bodies, the Turkburo [Bureau for Turkmen Affairs] and Kirburo [Bureau for Kirgiz Affairs] of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Central Committee, the republic party organizations grew into a large and most influential political force. Even in June 1921, the First Kazakhstan Oblast Party Conference was held, and this completed the unification of the Kazakhstan detachment of the RKP(b) on Leninist ideological and organizational bases. In December 1925, at the Fifth Kazakhstan Party Conference, the oblast party organization was turned into a kray one. In subsequent years, the ranks of the Kazakhstan party organization grew steadily, particularly from among the Kazakh workers, its links with the masses were widened, and its diverse and leading role in the life of the republic increased.

The republic communist party grew stronger in its irreconcilable struggle against the Alash-Orda groups, the national deviationists, the Trotskyites, rightist opportunists who distorted Lenin's nationality policy and prevented the carrying out of the general course of the Leninist party for the victory of socialism. The party organizations struggled consistently for

the industrialization of the nation, for the collectivization of agriculture, and carried out a cultural revolution.

All the socialist transformations in Kazakhstan and the turning of it into a highly developed industrial-agrarian republic are inseparably linked with the name of the great Lenin and with the activities of the CPSU. V. I. Lenin was directly concerned with the questions of the nationalization of Bissel and the mining works of Ekibastuz, the rebuilding of the Buba oil fields, the construction of the Petropavlovsk-Kokchetav railroad, and the hydroelectric plants in the Rudnyy Altay. He pointed out the specific ways for eliminating the patriarchal-feudal relations in the Central Asian villages, and with his personal participation, the first sprouts of the socialist way of life--the communes of Petrograd workers--were established in Kazakhstan, and a new socialist culture was born. Lenin's plan for building socialism became the foundation and guide to action in solving the chief economic, political, social and cultural problems involved in the transition of the Kazakh people to socialism, in bypassing capitalism.

The carrying out of Lenin's plan for the industrialization of the nation, the successful completion of the major new construction projects of the first five-year plans such as the Turkestan-Siberian railroad, the giant copper enterprise in the Balkhash, the creation of the all-Union coal source in Karaganda, the large industrial enterprises of the Rudnyy Altay and Southern Kazakhstan, as well as many other projects substantially altered the appearance of the republic and created a firm basis for the further development of its productive forces.

The collectivization of agriculture on the basis of Lenin's cooperative plan, the elimination of the Kulaks and Beys as a class, and the mass transition of the nomadic and seminomadic population to a settled way of life marked the establishing of socialist social relations in the Central Asian villages and countryside, and a fundamental change in the entire way of life of the Kazakh people.

The words of V. I. Lenin came completely true that "the peasantry which is in semifeudal dependence can perfectly master the idea of Soviet organization and carry it out in fact." In the course of the socialist transformations, the union of hammer and sickle became even stronger, and over 1 million single-family peasant farms in the republic joined kolkhozes, and began the path of socialism.

The formation of the Kazakhstan detachment of the working class, and particularly from the national cadres, became a major victory of socialism. As a result of the victory of socialism, a new class arose, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia grew up.

Under the leadership of the party, with the active involvement of the local soviets, the Komsomol and the public education bodies, a grave inheritance of the past, the virtually total illiteracy of the indigenous population,

was basically eradicated, and a broad network of schools, higher and secondary institutions of learning, and cultural-educational institutions was created. The life of the people changed beyond recognition. Conditions were created for a predominant majority of the workers to be involved in social life, and to acquire knowledge and cultural values. Literature and art that were socialist in content and national in form were developed.

The advances of Kazakhstan in building socialism were achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet government with fraternal help from the great Russian and other peoples of the USSR, as a result of the pooling of the forces and resources of the entire nation, and Lenin's nationality policy in action. In a historically short period of time, this made it possible to put an end to the former backwardness in all spheres of economic, social and cultural life.

Of great importance for the further development of the Soviet state in Kazakhstan was the 1936 USSR Constitution, on the basis of which the Kazakh ASSR was transformed into an Union republic, as an equal among equals in the fraternal family of peoples of the great Soviet nation.

On 9-12 June 1937, the First Congress of the KCP was held, and by a decision of this congress the kray party organization was turned into the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan, as one of the detachments of the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)].

High patriotism, valor and courage, internationalism and the unprecedented solidarity of the Soviet people were fully manifested during the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War. The 35th anniversary of the victory in this war has been solemnly celebrated by our motherland, by the nations of the socialist commonwealth and by everyone who today cherishes a firm and just peace in the world.

The workers of Kazakhstan, along with all the fraternal peoples, rose to the defense of the socialist fatherland. Citizens of Kazakhstan fought heroically in the battles of Moscow and Stalingrad, in the defense of Leninabad, the Brest Fortress, Odessa, Kiev, Malaya Zemlya, on the Kursk Salient, in the battles for the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic and Moldavia, for the liberation of the European peoples from the fascist yoke, in the partisan movement, and in operations against the Japanese militarists.

Tens of thousands of citizens of Kazakhstan received military decorations, and around 500 were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union. More than 100 of our fellow countrymen became full holders of the Order of Glory.

During the war years, Soviet Kazakhstan which even on the eve of the war, by the party's will, had been turned into one of the major military arsenals, continuously supplied the army in the field with everything necessary

including weapons and ammunition, fuel, clothing, food, in simultaneously increasing its industrial, agrarian and scientific potential in accord with the party's program to further develop the economy in the eastern regions of the nation.

A significant number of enterprises, equipment, valuable materials and cultural values was rebased into the republic. It became the homeland for millions of evacuated persons whom the cruel enemy had left homeless.

Inestimable was the contribution to the common cause of victory over the enemy by the glorious working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, and the representatives of all professions, social and age groups, nationalities and peoples. The unbelievably difficult hardships of the war again convincingly demonstrated that in the world there were nor would be any forces capable of crushing our powerful socialist state, to take the great revolutionary victories from the workers or turn history back.

The people of Kazakhstan worked with inspiration and total dedication during the first postwar five-year plans, making a substantial contribution to the development of the national economy. Having completed the transition of the national economy to peacetime footing, the republic along with all the nation steadily gained even higher development rates. Precisely during this time many new unique projects in industry, transportation and communications went into operation, and these became the pride of Kazakhstan and the entire Soviet state.

The heroic epoch of developing the virgin and fallow lands became a symbol of socialist awareness, a new embodiment of the unity of the party and the people, of the unshakable friendship of peoples and a feat of the older generation and our remarkable youth. The implementing of this great idea of the communist party turned Kazakhstan into one of the main granaries of the land. Since the beginning of the development of the virgin lands, the republic sovkhozes and kolkhozes have sold the state 17.7 billion poods of grain. The purchases of meat, milk and wool have risen by almost 4-fold, and for eggs by 33-fold.

In the book "Tselina" [Virgin Lands] which is close to the heart of each citizen of Kazakhstan, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has written: "The ancient steppe was to prove bountious. Transformed by human labor, it has provided sturdiness to all our agriculture, and has provided a guarantee for obtaining the necessary amounts of grain. And this land is gaining strength."

What has been achieved as the result of the development of the virgin lands is not the limit but merely the starting point for a further steady rise in the rural economy of the republic, and above all for livestock raising, where there is plenty of room to apply the industry and skilled hands of persons of all ages and professions, and particularly the young.

The virgin lands have provided a new powerful incentive for the intense and all-round development of the productive forces in Kazakhstan, and for the rapid growth of its industry, science and culture.

The Kazakh people and the workers of multinational Soviet Kazakhstan express their profound gratitude to the outstanding political and state leader of the modern world, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who during the most crucial period of the development of the virgin lands headed the Kazakh republic party organization and who made an enormous personal contribution to this great undertaking.

The establishing of a developed socialist society in our nation has become the most important stage in the revolutionizing activities of the Communist Party and the creative labor of all the Soviet people. The characteristic traits of mature socialism are inherent to all aspects of the economic, political, social and cultural life in the republic.

The multisectorial economy of present-day Kazakhstan is marked by enormous scope and dynamic development, by the planned and proportional development of the productive forces, by a high level of technical equipping, and by the maturity of socialist production relations. Major qualitative changes and profound structural shifts in all the national economic sectors have occurred over the last 15 years on the basis of the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses, the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 12th, 13th and 14th KCP congresses. The material and labor resources have begun to be used more effectively. Extensive work is being carried out to introduce scientific and technical achievements into production, as well as in the area of the specialization and concentration of industrial production. The capital-to-labor ratio is growing rapidly, and the technical reequipping and reconstruction of the republic's industry are actively underway.

All of this has provided a powerful upsurge in the industry of Kazakhstan and its high development rates. At present it takes the republic economy just a half day to produce the product which it turned out in all of 1920. In one week as much product is produced as in all 1937, and in a year, 5-fold more than over all the prewar five-year plans, taken together. In terms of the volume of industrial product and the per capita output of electric power, Kazakhstan holds one of the leading places in the nation.

The industrial appearance of present-day Kazakhstan is determined by ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, power, the coal, oil and chemical industries which are equipped with the most modern facilities. And here, in the land of the space launches, is successfully operating the world's first large fast-neutron nuclear reactor. Machine building and the metalworking industry are developing rapidly. Heavy chemistry has been developed in the republic. Such new types of product for the republic as metallurgical equipment, tractors, bulldozers, excavators, rolled sheet metal, alumina, ferronilloys, plastics and many other articles hold firm positions in the national economic balance.

The scale of capital construction is great. Over the last 15 years since the October (1964) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 88.6 billion rubles of capital investments have been used in Kazakhstan. Never before has such an amount been known in the Republic. Just since the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan, over 200 new enterprises and major production lines and shops have gone into operation. Among them are the following: the Pavlodar Oil Refinery, the Novodzhambulskiy Phosphorus Plant, the Ust'-Kamenogorsk Reinforcing Plant, the Stepnogorsk Bearing Plant, the Zharkent Mining and Dressing Combine, the coking battery at Kazakhstan Magnitka, the Tsentralnaya Mine in Karaganda, new capacity at the enterprises of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, energy, machine building, the coal, chemical and petrochemical industry, and a number of installations in the light and food industries.

Work of unprecedented scope is underway at the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Karatau-Dzhambul and Mangyshlak territorial-production complexes. These are the most important regions of the energy, coal, chemical and oil and gas industries. The Eastern Kazakhstan, Dzhezkazgan, Temirtau-Karaganda, Kustanay-Lisakovsk industrial-production regions are developing rapidly.

An extensive network of highways and railroads has been created in Kazakhstan, while air transport, communications, television and radio broadcasting have developed rapidly.

The economic ties of Kazakhstan with the fraternal republics of the nation are becoming closer, deeper and more diverse. In Kazakhstan there is no place where machinery and equipment from the fraternal republics is not employed, where parts, raw materials and semifinished goods are not in use, or consumer goods not found. At the same time, products with the Kazakhstan mark are widely known throughout our nation. The republic exports hundreds of types of industrial products to 80 nations of the world, and primarily to the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

The economic cooperation between the Soviet republics in the national economic complex and the active involvement in Kazakhstan in such a commonwealth are the material embodiment of the friendship of peoples united by the common cause of building a communist society.

As a result of consistently carrying out Lenin's agrarian policy over the last 60 years in agriculture, as throughout the republic economy, there have been fundamental changes. An unprecedented distance has been traveled from nomadic livestock raising to highly developed agricultural production equipped by modern facilities that are better than many developed countries.

While the planted area of Kazakhstan was 4.2 million hectares by the beginning of mass collectivization, now this exceeds 35 million.

At present Kazakhstan is rightly called a republic of sovkhozes, as there are more than 2,000 of them. Along with them, over 400 kolkhozes are developing and growing stronger.

Complete electrification of agriculture has been carried out. The cultivating of the soil, and the sowing of cereals, corn and sugar beets have been fully mechanized. The grain and silage crops are completely harvested by combines. The level of the full mechanization of labor on the livestock farms has risen.

The successful carrying out of the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses and the March (1965) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee as well as the daily support and aid provided by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government to the republic have turned Kazakhstan into a major grain and livestock base of the nation. The republic is widely specializing and concentrating agricultural production, and agroindustrial integration is also under way. The scale of introducing chemistry into agriculture, land reclamation and the supplying of water to pastures are growing. Livestock complexes have been set up and are in operation for the fattening of cattle and for producing meat, there are large commercial poultry farms, and interfarm organizations and associations which bring together the efforts of hundreds of sovkhozes and kolkhozes.

While before the development of the virgin lands, during the best harvest years the republic provided the state with up to 100 million poods of grain, over the last 4 years alone, the republic three times has presented the motherland with a full billion poods of Kazakh grain. The number of livestock is growing, and productiveness is rising. Livestock raising provides more than one-half of the gross agricultural product in the republic. Major changes are also occurring in the traditional sector of sheep raising. While in 1940, Kazakhstan had a little more than 8 million sheep and goats, at present there are over 35 million, and the production of lamb and wool has increased significantly.

As was pointed out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "Kazakhstan today is a republic where a creative socialist life is in full swing, where the people of labor and science are transforming nature, the deserts are coming to life, and large centers of modern industry are growing up. This is a republic which provides the nation with an enormous amount of grain, milk, meat, wool and other agricultural products. This is a republic which provides the nation with ferrous and nonferrous metals, coal, oil, gas and much modern equipment. In a word, Kazakhstan holds a prominent and honorable place in solid ranks of the Soviet socialist republics."

On the basis of the successful development of the socialist economy, the material prosperity of the workers has constantly increased. The national income of the republic in 1979 grew by 2.4-fold in comparison with 1965, and reached 18.7 billion rubles, and gross social product was 43.7 billion rubles. The real income of the population as well as the payments and benefits from the public consumption funds are growing. Each year a third of the republic budget is spent on social and cultural-service needs of the workers.

Over the last 15 years, over 10 million persons have improved their housing conditions. The network of schools and children's preschool institutions,

hospitals, polyclinics, preventoria, houses of culture, clubs, libraries, sanitariums, and vacation homes, tourist facilities and sports facilities has continuously expanded.

The transforming force of socialism and the Leninist nationality policy has been vividly expressed in the unprecedented rise in public education, science and culture. In the kray where literacy among the indigenous population did not exceed 2 percent before the revolution, at present there are around 9,000 schools with 3.3 million students, 55 institutions of higher learning and 230 specialized secondary schools, an academy of sciences, and an extensive network of scientific institutions conducting research on virtually all urgent questions of present-day science from the microworld to space.

The changeover completely basically during the years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan to universal compulsory secondary education for the youth has become a major success of the party's policy in the sphere of cultural development and a major social victory for the workers.

The expressive art and literature of Soviet Kazakhstan have flourished in their vivid unique colors. Many books by Kazakh writers have become available to the Union and world reader. The best works of the multinational art of Kazakhstan, the creative collectives and individual performers are well known far outside the republic. The beneficial process of the reciprocal enrichment and merging of national cultures in the channel of the single common Soviet culture is broadening and deepening.

Available for the workers in the cities and villages are thousands of palaces of culture, theaters, museums, clubs and libraries. There is an extensive television network. The entire republic is covered by radio broadcasting. While in 1913, just 13 book titles were published in Kazakhstan with a total run of 4,000 copies, at present the republic publishing houses annually publish over 2,000 titles of books with a total run of about 30 million copies. Some 427 newspapers are published in Kazakh, Russian, Uigur, German and Korean languages with a total single run of over 5 million copies, and many central publications are also printed.

The republic has become a place for holding scientific and creative meetings of Union and international importance.

During the years of Soviet power, 66 new cities and hundreds of worker settlements have arisen. The architectural appearance of the former cities has changed beyond recognition, including the capital of the republic, the city of Alma-Ata.

The nature of the work done by the workers and kolkhoz members has changed, and their general educational, professional and cultural-technical level has risen. There is an intensive process underway of obliterating the differences between city and countryside and between physical and mental labor.

As throughout the nation, in the republic there has been a reorganization of social relations on the collectivist principles which are organically inherent to mature socialism, and the social uniformity of society is growing stronger with the leading role of the working class. The workers of the republic, like all Soviet people, are united by a common ideology, common goals and ideals, and by a feeling of belonging to a new historical community of people, to the Soviet people.

Under the conditions of developed socialism, the democratic and internationalist nature of Soviet society is ever more fully disclosed, and the involvement of the workers is broadened and deepened in managing state and public affairs, and in solving political, economic and sociocultural problems. The role of the soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations is constantly rising.

The magnificent achievements of the Soviet people and the victories of real socialism are set down in the new USSR Constitution and in the constitutions of the Union republics.

All the historical feats of the workers of Kazakhstan are inseparably linked with the activities of one of the militant detachments of the CPSU, the KCP, which has reached its 60th anniversary strong and solidly united around the Leninist CPSU Central Committee. Its authority and militancy are constantly growing, as well as its influence on all aspects of economic, social and spiritual life. A majority of the republic communists is working directly in the sphere of material production. The party organizations are improving the style, forms and methods of organizational and indoctrinal work, and are directing efforts at bringing about a further rise in the economy, raising the material well being and the cultural level of the people, and indoctrinating the workers in a spirit of wholehearted loyalty to the ideals of communism, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples, and resistance to bourgeois ideology.

The workers of our republic which four times has received orders are approaching the glorious anniversary of Kazakhstan and the KCP in their full creative forces. Each working day is full of great feats. Last year alone, on the 25th anniversary of the development of the virgin lands, the agricultural workers turned over to the state 1,262,000,000 poods of grain, and for this the republic was awarded the highest decoration of the motherland, the Order of Lenin.

Since the start of the 10th Five-Year Plan, Kazakhstan has repeatedly won the rotating Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee for the achieving of high results in the all-Union socialist competition. It also was awarded this honorary decoration in 1979. It has also been won by five oblasts, a number of cities, 19 rayons and 86 labor collectives.

A number of enterprises, thousands of leading workers and production innovators have reported on the early fulfillment of the socialist obligations approved in honor of the 110th birthday of V. I. Lenin. A Leninist communist volunteer Saturday workday was held with an unprecedented political and labor upsurge. All of this shows how creative is the life of the people who have won full liberty under the banner of Great October.

All that has been achieved by Soviet Kazakhstan during the years of Soviet power is the fruit of the constant concern of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government, of the political and organizational activities of the republic party organization, the heroic labor of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and of the selfless fraternal aid from all the Soviet peoples. The Kazakh people are particularly grateful to the great Russian people for the inestimable contribution to the development of the republic in all stages of socialist and communist construction.

The workers of multinational Soviet Kazakhstan, as never before, are closely united around their own Communist Party, they completely and fully approve and support its domestic and foreign policy, and are fully determined to successfully complete the 10th Five-Year Plan and make a worthy contribution to the great cause of building a communist society in our nation.

The KCP Central Committee decrees:

To celebrate the 60th anniversary of Kazakhstan and the KCP as a major political event, a holiday of the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy, and of the unshakable friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples, and a review of the successes of the republic achieved in the single family of the Soviet peoples under the leadership of the Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo headed by the outstanding political and state figure of the modern times, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

All organizational and mass political work in the area of preparations for the jubilee is to be focused on further raising the political and labor activeness of the masses, and mobilizing their forces and creative energy at carrying out the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the November (1979) Central Committee Plenum, as well as the advice and instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

To more widely develop the socialist competition to properly celebrate the 60th anniversary of the republic and the KCP, to mobilize the efforts of the labor collectives to raise in every possible way production efficiency and work quality, to sharply reduce the number of lagging labor collectives by raising labor productivity, by a further intensification of industrial and agricultural production, and accelerating scientific and technical progress.

An even more effective struggle must be waged to successfully fulfill and overfulfill the 1980 plans and socialist obligations as well as the five-year plan as a whole at each section in order to present the beloved motherland with new achievements in industry, capital construction, transportation and communications, by more Kazakhstan grain, and by the steady development of all sectors of the rural economy, public education, public health, trade, and communal and domestic services for the population. Here, both in the city and in the countryside, particular attention is to be paid to the maximum use of internal reserves, to strengthening savings and thriftiness, to improving the economic mechanism, to the greatest possible strengthening of organization and discipline, and to raising personal responsibility for the assigned job.

The preparations for and holding of the Jubilee should contribute to a decisive elimination of the existing shortcomings and oversights, to a further rise in organization and efficiency, and to ideological support for the tasks confronting the republic party organization in light of the demands of the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work."

It is important by all means of propaganda and agitation to thoroughly bring out the historical significance of Great October for the fate of the Kazakh people, the prominent role of V. I. Lenin in the development of our republic, and the constant concern of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government, and personally Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for the all-round development of the economy, science and culture in multinational Soviet Kazakhstan.

From the example of Kazakhstan and the other fraternal republics, to show vividly and convincingly the practical realization of Lenin's nationality policy of the CPSU, the powerful creative force of friendship, fraternal mutual understanding and cooperation among the Soviet peoples, the advantages of the socialist system and Soviet democracy the fundamental principles of which reinforced in the new USSR Constitution and the Kazakh Constitution reliably guarantee great rights, true freedom and a happy life for the working man.

To wage an irreconcilable and offensive struggle against bourgeois and Maoist ideology, to thoroughly unmask any attempts to discredit the victories of real socialism, the achievements of our country and the entire socialist community.

To show vividly and thoroughly the leading and guiding role of the CPSU in the life of Soviet society, and to broadly explain the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government aimed at strengthening the economic and defense might of our multinational motherland, supporting the positions of world socialism, and ensuring a just and irreversible peace throughout the world, and against the intrigues of international reaction and attempts at hegemonism, dictatorship and military adventures.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms as well as the primary party organizations, the executive committees of the local soviets, the trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the ministries and departments of the republic are to work out and implement specific measures to prepare for and hold the 60th anniversary of Kazakhstan and the KCP.

In agitation and propaganda work and in the activities of the mass information media, skillful use is to be made of the creative force of the positive example, and the labor and political activeness of the workers is to be shown more fully, remembering the Leninist thesis that "...to build new forms of social ties between people...is the noblest and most gratifying work."

To strengthen the ideological and political indoctrination of people, particularly the youth, in the revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the party and the people, using the example of the life and activities of V. I. Lenin, and in a spirit of the knowledge and unconditional observance of socialist laws, a universal rise in efficiency, valid criticism of existing shortcomings, and a decisive rejection of all that is alien to the Soviet way of life, our ethics and morality.

To show constant concern for the veterans of the party, the revolution and labor, and the participants of the Civil and Great Patriotic wars, to more widely involve them in ideological indoctrination among the population, and to take measures to further improve their housing and domestic conditions, their social security and medical services.

The Kazakh Ministry of Culture, Kazsovprof [Kazakh Trade Union Council], the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol together with the creative unions of writers, journalists, composers, artists, architects and cinematographers, and the theatrical society are to organize jubilee festivals, holidays, exhibits, reviews and competitions for professional and amateur artistic and scientific-technical creativity; they are to improve sponsorship work and the activities of all the cultural educational institutions; they are to hold a joint plenum of the creative unions; they are to carry out the organizing of performances and concert programs devoted to the subject of the jubilee; they are to organize reports and speeches by creative collectives and masters of arts for the workers in theaters, philharmonic halls, palaces of culture and clubs; they are to pay more attention to monumental propaganda and to the preservation and use of historical revolutionary monuments in indoctrinational work.

The Kazakh Sports Committee, the DOSAAF and the Kazakh OSVOD [All-Russian Water Rescue Society] are to organize sports holidays and meets in the mass and military-technical types of sports.

The Kazakh state committees for cinematography, television and radio broadcasting are to hold movie, TV and radio festivals; they are to organize the showing of the best artistic, documentary and popular scientific films on

the heroic path and achievements of the nation and the republic during the years of Soviet power; they are to provide for the creation of documentary film strips which show the struggle of the republic's workers to properly celebrate the jubilee.

The Kazakh State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing and Book Trade is to ensure the prompt and high quality publishing of jubilee literature, posters, postcards and albums which reflect the flourishing of the economy, science and culture of Soviet Kazakhstan.

The Kazakh Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Party History under the KCP Central Committee, the Kazakh Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, and the Republic Znaniye [Knowledge] Society are to hold a joint scientific-theoretical conference devoted to the 60th anniversary of the republic and the KCP.

The editorial staffs of the newspapers and magazines, television, radio broadcasting and KazTAG [Kazakh Telegraph Agency] are to widely report on the course of preparations for the holiday, to widely show the socioeconomic and cultural changes which have occurred in the republic over the last 60 years; they are to show the active struggle of the republic workers to successfully carry out the quotas of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the decisions of the historic 25th CPSU Congress in all areas of the economy, science and culture.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the executive committees of the local soviets in August 1980 are to hold ceremonial sessions of the oblast, city and rayon party committees and the soviets and of representatives from the social organizations and military units, as well as ceremonial meetings in the labor collectives, assemblies and demonstrations for the workers.

To celebrate the 60th anniversary of Kazakhstan and the KCP, on 29-30 August 1980, in the city of Alma-Ata, at the Palace imeni V. I. Lenin, a ceremonial session of the KCP Central Committee and the Kazakh Supreme Soviet is to be held with the participation of the party, soviet and public organizations, representatives of the workers and the men of the Soviet Army, as well as a military parade and demonstration by the workers of the city of Alma-Ata devoted to this date.

The KCP Central Committee expresses its firm conviction that the Kazakh people and all the workers of multinational Soviet Kazakhstan, will more closely close ranks around the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by the true continuer of the cause of the great Lenin, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and will do everything to mark the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan with new successes and to properly celebrate the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress.

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REGIONAL

PROBLEMS IN CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION IN GEORGIAN SSR

Party Official Urges Construction Quality

Moscow STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by G. Kolbin, Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party: "The Task of Today--High Quality"]

[Text] In the diverse and fruitful activities which the party organization of Georgia has carried out in recent years in mobilizing the republic's workers to unconditionally fulfill the national economic plans, an important place is held by a directed struggle at high quality indicators in construction.

For several years now there has been a quality commission at work under the Central Committee of the GCP [Georgian Communist Party]. Along with other questions, it coordinates the activities of the ministries, the departments and their party organizations in the area of improving quality in construction, and it focuses efforts on seeking out new resources, and helps to generalize and introduce the advanced experience acquired in this area.

Experience has shown that a system of quality control is indispensable under present-day conditions. In considering this, a comprehensive system of quality control is being widely introduced in the construction ministries, their subdivisions and at the enterprises of the building materials industry. Such an approach has been fully effective. We have already gained an opportunity to submit certain types of the produced products for state certification. Some 17.5 percent of the total product has been awarded the state Quality Mark.

In carrying out the specific measures to improve the quality of the erected projects, we are aware that here it is not enough to strengthen the demands made only on the persons carrying out the work. There must be a comprehensive approach whereby special attention should be given primarily to the products manufactured by the enterprises of the building industry. It is a fact that often products are produced with a violation of the geometric dimensions with the misalignment of the inserts and reinforcing elements, with swelling and disintegration of the concrete, and this of course tells on the accuracy of installation and all subsequent operations.

For this reason the quality commission under the GCP Central Committee is focusing the primary party organizations in the construction subdivisions primarily at eliminating the causes of defective products in the primary element of the construction conveyor. As yet it is too early to say anything about the occurring of a fundamental change in this area, but something has already been achieved. For example, for the Ministry of Construction alone, as of the present 35 types of produced products valued at over 46 million rubles have been certified for first quality category. These products include reinforced concrete elements worth more than 32 million rubles, inert materials valued at 4.7 million rubles, facing slabs worth 1.7 million rubles, and other products.

In the struggle to improve quality interesting experience has been acquired by the republic Ministry of Rural Construction. Here a "License to Carry Out Work" has been introduced for the persons executing the job. Such licenses are issued to specialists after certification during which their knowledge is judged. If defects committed by the construction worker are discovered in an inspection, the appropriate entry is made in the license. And after three entries, the worker is removed from the job.

In the trusts, organizations and enterprises of the ministry, quality services are functioning successfully, and these are headed by the chief engineers. In monitoring the level of work execution, these services are not restricted to the verifying of shortcomings. They carefully analyze the reasons for flaws, and work out specific measures to eliminate them. For the purpose of preventing defective work, seminars are held systematically on studying the technical conditions and the state standards as well as the progressive methods for monitoring and controlling the quality of construction products.

We give great significance to the operational information on construction quality. Everywhere the demand is in effect that the summaries are to be drawn up from the results of inspection and effective measures are to be taken for eliminating the discovered defects.

All these efforts have made it possible to reduce losses from defective work significantly. For example, while in 1978 the losses were 86,000 rubles, last year they did not exceed 57,000. There was a rise in the number of projects accepted for use with evaluations of "excellent" and "good." From last year's results, such estimates were received, respectively, by 11 and 80 percent of all the projects put into operation.

In recent years, in the republic such unique projects have been put up as the Ingurskaya GES, and reconstruction has been carried out on the opera and ballet theater, the Dynamo Stadium imeni V. I. Lenin, the building of the central telegraph office, the water sports complex in Tbilisi, a new subway line and other projects which are marked by interesting architecture and design as well as outstanding quality.

A great deal has also been done to improve quality in housing construction. Here first of all a word must be said about the Kutaisi housing construction

workers. They are putting up housing with an improved architectural design for the facades. The Kutaisi workers have organized series output of external wall parts finished in varicolored mosaic panels which give them a pleasant color. The new housing built by them has been submitted for the prize of the USSR Council of Ministers. The advanced experience of the Kutaisi DSK [Housing Construction Combine] has become a question of discussion for the board of the USSR Ministry of Construction.

The collective of the Bakhumi DSK also merits praise. Since the very beginning of the combine, here the accent has been on work quality. And they have been successful as the people of Bakhumi are satisfied with the new housing.

Thus, positive shifts can be noted in the struggle for a high quality of construction. But what has been achieved is merely the start. Great and specific work remains to improve all elements of the construction mechanism in order to fully exclude instances of defective work.

For example, a situation cannot be considered tolerable where because of little control of the specialists by the party committees, it is impossible to begin producing the product at a completed production installation. And this happens because the construction workers permit serious defects which at times take months to eliminate.

In 1979, the workers of the Gosstroyinspektiya [State Construction Inspectorate] of the republic Gosstroy checked the course of work in the construction of a knitted underwear mill in the town of Tskhinvali. Due to the poor quality of the work, the republic Gosstroy halted construction and financing for the project until the committed defects had been eliminated. Unfortunately, this is not the sole instance of irresponsibility and complacency. We are very concerned by the fact that, for example, the reinforced concrete products are often dressed to a suitable condition directly at the construction sites. And this leads to higher costs and reduces the construction pace and labor productivity.

The question of housing quality still remains acute. This problem was the subject of discussion at the most diverse levels. In 1977, the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee handed down a strongly worded evaluation of housing construction in our republic. Party reprimands were imposed upon the leaders of the corresponding departments. After this the state of affairs improved somewhat, but the positive changes have been insignificant. As before, for example, the housing erected by the DSK, in Gori, Lilo and Rustavi has a poor reputation. One is disconcerted by the fact that good housing elements are made from the same materials at some plants, and poor ones at others. The reason lies in the choice of a poor plan for the housing series, in the techniques of housing construction, and the poor quality of the production fittings.

This is the last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The main efforts of the construction workers are now aimed at the unconditional fulfillment of the

annual program which provides for the carrying out of increased amounts of work. It is essential to complete fixed capital valued at 348 million rubles more than last year, and use capital investments which exceed last year's indicator by 13 million rubles. The reaching of the planned goals depends upon the quality of organization for all the work.

### Better Management of Capital Construction

Dzhkhimi SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA in Russian 18 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences D. Ashuba, head of the economic department of the Abkhazia Scientific Research Institute imeni D. I. Gulia of the Georgian Academy of Sciences: "A New Management Level for Capital Construction"]

[Text] The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Efficiency and Work Quality" in which an entire section is devoted to capital construction opens up broad opportunities for this sector. It is aimed at eliminating a certain contradiction occurring between the forms and methods of managing the construction industry and at improving the efficiency of social production.

In Abkhazia, the capital investments into the national economy are systematically growing. For example, in the 10th Five-Year Plan, their average annual planned volume is 5-fold more than in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The share of construction in the aggregate social product of the autonomous republic has already reached over 11 percent. A positive trend is also noted in the change of the capital investment structure.

Construction itself is being ever better supplied with new equipment. As a result of mechanizing the labor-intensive processes, just over the years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the number of workers in construction per million rubles of completed construction and installation work has declined by 25 percent. This has also been aided by the stedier material and technical supply for the erected projects and by the rational use of working time. Each worker of the sector over the year now produces 10 man-days more than at the outset of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

However, it must be admitted that the efficiency of construction in Abkhazia is still low, and the state of affairs in this sector requires a fundamental improvement. Suffice it to say that in recent years it has not once fulfilled the labor productivity plan. Over the Ninth Five-Year Plan the actual increase was just 11.5 percent, and this was 2.5-fold lower than the national average.

The labor productivity level is a multifactor indicator. In construction it depends not only upon the technical level and the efforts of the workers in the sector itself, but also to a significant degree upon the balanced development of the regional construction-industry complex. However, in

Abkhazia, due to the incomplete realization of the potentials of the sector's productive forces and the insufficiently correct organization of labor and production, the sector employs 40 percent or around 4,000 persons of surplus manpower. The questions of training construction personnel and their rational use require special attention. It is essential to make maximum use of all opportunities to improve working and living conditions, and to satisfy the social needs of the workers. Here there are major shortcomings which to a significant degree bring about low labor productivity. In the sector in recent years, among the hired workers there has been something of an increase in the proportional amount of organized recruitment and persons who have completed vocational and technical schools. However, the construction organizations basically still themselves train their workers. Each year almost 80 percent of the newly hired construction workers do not have a special education. The problem is that the existing system of manpower recruitment characterized by an influx predominantly of little-skilled workers in fact operates inefficiently. Under these conditions, even with the ideal organization of construction, it is impossible to provide the efficient use of the calendar and working time funds or the equipment and mechanisms, and thus achieve high labor productivity.

It is no accident that the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and UGSSR Council of Ministers provides in the plans for the social and economic development of all levels of the national economy for the elaboration of a range of measures to improve working conditions, to increase employee skills, and better their housing and cultural-domestic conditions. In Abkhazia, the realization of such plans will be of particular importance precisely in construction. At present here a contradictory situation has developed where, with an actual surplus of employed manpower, the annual manpower shortage reaches 1,500 persons.

The 25th CPSU Congress gave particular attention to the question of reducing the cost of capital work. The task was set of reducing it by 3-5 percent in the 10th Five-Year Plan. In construction, as a whole for the nation, there has been a systematic decline in costs and a rise in the profitability of construction-installation work. For example, in 1978, the profitability level for the projects completed reached 16 percent.

However, in our autonomous republic there are significant omissions and shortcomings in this area, as can be seen in the systematic increase in the cost of capital work and the losses of many construction organizations. For example, at Trust No 6 of the Georgian Minstroy [Ministry of Construction], in recent years the cost of construction has increased by more than 10 percent. Over the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the construction losses averaged around 12 percent, and in 1976-1977, 9.6 percent.

The higher expenditures on production has been chiefly related to the overexpenditure of materials, overhead and the wage fund. As a rule, these are responsible, respectively, for 50, 30 and 20 percent of the total increase in the cost of the work. The fact that a larger portion of the overexpenditure is related to materials to a definite degree is a consequence of

shortcomings in production management. Thus, the opinion has formed that the construction organizations endeavor to employ shipped-in building materials and not local ones due to the poor quality of the latter. However, the quality and quantity of the industrially-produced products are interrelated. The establishing of permanent ties by the construction organizations with the enterprises in the building materials industry is an objective basis for improving the quality of the local building materials. In precisely this manner construction should influence the putting of regional raw material resources into economic circulation. Under the conditions of the ever increasing volume of capital investments, the flaws in the regional development of the material base for construction lead to delayed and incomplete deliveries of materials and structural elements to construction and to longer times and increased costs in construction.

The consolidating of the construction organizations and the concentration of production on a basis of specialization are an important factor for improving construction efficiency. The level of construction concentration in Abkhazia is not below the national and republic averages, but it is not properly based on intersystem specialization. The low level of specialization in the construction organizations is significantly determined by their departmental isolation. Functioning on the territory of the autonomous republic are about 25 independent general contracting construction-installation organizations, as well as 12 repair-construction administrations and sections of the various ministries and departments of the Union, Union republic and republic levels. The leading contractor, the Georgian Minstroy, alone has eight independent self-financing enterprises which are not unified into a single territorial administration. Such separateness impedes an efficient combination of the sectorial and territorial management principles for this national economic sector. The transition of capital construction to a two- and three-tiered management system, as envisaged by the decree, should become the basis for improving its organizational structure, for setting up large specialized construction associations, and improving the management of the sector.

The bases for the efficiency of the construction industry are established even in the process of drawing up the territorial plan for capital investments and the design-estimate specifications of the construction sites. Its level is determined by a multiplicity of factors and conditions having an objective and subjective nature. Here we have taken up only individual general economic indicators and questions related to construction work in Abkhazia. They show the great reserves for increasing its efficiency. There is no doubt that the introduction of the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Efficiency and Work Quality" will be a firm basis for implementing them.

## Conference on Capital Construction

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Mar 80 p 1

[Meeting of the CCP Central Committee: "To Increase the Pace of Labor in Capital Construction"]

[Text] Maximum Exactingness

The results of fulfilling the capital construction plans over the first 4 months of the current year which were discussed at an enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee, along with definite achievements, also disclosed major reserves the use of which could significantly improve the state of affairs. The most important of them is a strengthening of planning, financial and labor discipline.

The conference gave facts and examples showing the existing shortcomings the rapid elimination of which should become the number one task for all the party, economic and soviet leaders. Thus, fixed capital valued at 104 million rubles was put into operation, and this was 7 percent less than in the corresponding period of last year; 95 percent of the capital investments were used, and the plan for construction and installation work was fulfilled by 97 percent.

Regardless of the measures taken, a sharp change has not occurred in housing construction. The April plan was fulfilled by 91 percent. The lag in the use of capital investments over the 4 months was 3.6 million rubles. In April, only 14,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing were completed. The conference named the trusts which had allowed a significant lag in the use of funds. This was Trust No 11 Tskhinval'stroy [Tskhinvali Construction] of the Republic Minstroy [Ministry of Construction], the experimental housing construction combine in Bzybi, trusts No 1, No 2, No 3, No 7 and No 15 of the Minsel'stroy [Ministry of Rural Construction], and others. There was also a lag in school construction. A particularly difficult situation developed in the republic Minsel'stroy which did not fulfill the plan for nearly completed projects by 43 percent. Year after year the plans are not met for completing vocational-technical schools. In truth, the use of funds for constructing children's preschool institutions was 93 percent, however over the report period, not one nursery was put into operation.

The situation is also extremely unsatisfactory at the projects which should be completed in 1979. It was pointed out that each year up to 400 nearly completed projects in the republic are not put into operation. Thus, in 1979, the Minsel'stroy did not complete 204 projects, and over the past period of the present year, only 14 were completed.

The conference participants came to the unanimous conclusion that the lag has occurred due to the absence of exactingness, and in a number of instances due to poor work by the subcontractors and the strange position of the clients who indifferently carry out the tasks assigned to them.

B. Zatashvili, the chief of the Main Capital Construction Administration of the Republic Council of Ministers, N. Takhaknyn, general director of Gruzgornokhimprom [Georgian Main Administration for the Mining and Chemical Industry], A. Bagatellyn, secretary of the party committee at the Bzybi DSK [Housing Construction Combine], and Z. Kapashidze, manager of Trust No 5 of Minstroy, said that there were no unimportant details in capital construction. Poor work by designers, the enterprises in the building materials industry, the financial service, the clients, and others has a negative effect upon the end result, that is, the completion of one or another project.

Dzh. Sukharulidze, Georgian deputy minister of rural construction, V. Gogoladze, republic first deputy minister of construction, D. Dgebundze, D. Kovziridze and G. Abuladze, managers of trusts No 4, No 1 and No 3 of the Minsel'stroy, and others describe the measures which are being undertaken to overcome the lag.

The particularly important construction projects were discussed in detail.

The plan of the 4 months at such projects was fulfilled by 94 percent. Lending workers of the republic have been assigned to each such project, and staffs have been set up almost everywhere. The demands made on the status of such projects, the conference pointed out, this year will be particularly strict.

The party organizations must more widely develop the socialist competition for the unconditional fulfillment of the quotas of the year and the 5 years as a whole, they must widely disseminate the valuable initiatives and campaigns, and they must improve work in the area of studying, disseminating and introducing the experience of the advance collectives, and in raising labor productivity at each section.

#### The Responsibility of the Leaders

It is an indisputable fact that the leader plays a great role in indoctrinating the collective and in creating a healthy psychological climate in it. But just what does this role involve specifically? Yes, of course, one must give lectures, hold talks, and report to people. But above all it means to perform one's daily duties in the best manner.

The conference of the GCP Central Committee stated that it is essential to raise the responsibility of the leader in each stage of work. We must not tolerate instances when the leaders endeavor to place the blame for the lag or other unseemly phenomena on their subordinates, or do not wage a constant struggle against padding or the misuse of funds or building materials.

The party and soviet bodies must increase the demands made upon the leaders of the construction organizations, the managers, and the chiefs of administrations, and not limit themselves to reprimanding just the work superintendents or the foremen.

The leaders of the ministries, departments and trusts must be on the spot more, among the masses, and take an interest in the needs of each construction worker.

The conference devoted a great deal of attention to raising the role and responsibility of the client. It is completely unacceptable when the construction workers put projects into operation, including particularly important ones, and the production workers are not able to master the methods of producing the product. This impedes the fulfillment of the state plans and quotas. For example, this happened with certain production capacity at the Rustavi Chemical Plant, the glass packaging plant in Surami, the pneumatic transport in Shulaveri (which has now been idle for 6 months already), and the Signakhi--Tsnori cableway.

It is also essential to strengthen the responsibility of the clients for the use of funds, and primarily, the funds allocated for the development of public health, education, science and culture.

The work pace will rise and labor productivity will increase solely because of the sound engineering and organizational training of the leaders, and due to greater responsibility on the part of all the partners, that is, the construction workers, installation workers, clients and financial workers.

Speaking at the conference was G. Andronikashvili, head of the Department for Construction and Municipal Economy under the GCP Central Committee, and Yu. Kedishvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers.

The results of the conference were summed up by G. Kolbin, second secretary of the GCP Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN PROKURATURA MEETING ON PERFORMANCE IN 1979

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 15 Apr 80 p 3

[Gruzininform article under rubric "Law, Order, and Us": "Increase Procurator Supervision. Expanded Meeting of the Board of the GSSR Prokuratura"]

[Text] An expanded meeting of the board of the GSSR Prokuratura was held to discuss the results of the republic's prokuratura organs last year and the tasks assigned to them in accordance with the CPSU CC decree "Improving Law Enforcement Work and Strengthening the Struggle Against Crime."

The keynote speech was delivered by Republic Procurator A. Barabadze.

It was noted that the reporting period was filled with important events. A landmark event was the passage of a new law by the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the prokuratura--a historic document attesting to the humanitarian nature of Soviet laws. It imposes new, higher standards on prokuratura organ personnel to raise their level of training and competence.

Chief attention was focused on cadre problems. The comrades who spoke at the meeting noted that it is essential to weed out casual, unprincipled people who because of personal character traits are incapable of working in the prokuratura organs. This will be facilitated, in particular, by the current ongoing certification of procurators and investigative personnel in the republic.

Last year the republic's prokuratura exerted considerable effort to improve the work of the organs of both the central apparatus and the outlying organs. In order to provide practical aid to the procurators of the autonomous republics, the oblast, cities, and rayons, officials of the GSSR Prokuratura visited the local districts to arrange instruction conferences and inspections. In situ meetings of the prokuratura board were held in Sukhumi, Batumi, and Tskhinvali.

In 1979, organs of the republic's prokuratura revealed and are now investigating many cases of theft of state property in the Tbilisi Champagne Combine, the Ferroconcrete Structures Plant, and the Gardabani Sanitation-Epidemiological Station, cases of organized graft in Tbilisi's 26 Commissars Rayispolkom, and so on.

The prokuratura now plays a greater organizational role in coordinating the activities of the law enforcement organs. All last year the republic's prokuratura, the MVD and the Justice Ministry, and the Supreme Court held coordination conferences to study and discuss efforts against recidivism and serious crimes, the prevention and elimination of juvenile crime, and so on.

Participants stressed, nevertheless, that there are also some shortcomings in the work of the prokuratura organs. In particular, a number of rayons in the republic will require increased active procurator supervision both in matters of case investigation and examination and the quality of law compliance by the various ministries, departments, institutions, and enterprises. Because of unsatisfactory performance by a number of city and rayon procurators, mistakes often have to be rectified not at the appeal level of criminal case examination but at the supervision level [instantsiya]. Of the people's court decisions that were annulled last year, for example, only 9.8 percent were annulled or changed on the basis of procurator appeal protest.

The procurators of Kutaisi, Tkibuli, Dmanisi, Gardabani, and other cities and rayons were sharply criticized at the meeting for laxity of supervision in their areas, for taking too long to complete preliminary investigations, and for lethargic efforts against corruption, figure juggling, substandard production, and other negative phenomena. Special mention was made of the need to step up efforts against the theft of state and private property. Participants mapped out specific measures to root out the shortcomings in the work of the prokuratura organs.

The meeting was participated in by GCP CC Administrative Organs Department Chief N. Sadzhaya, GSSR Supreme Court Chairman A. Karanadze, MVD G. Gvetadze, and Justice Minister A. Shushanashvili.

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BOOK ON SETTLING SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN NOMADS REVIEWED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 4 May 80 p 3

[Review by Prof D. Baktygulov, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Voropayeva, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Marshrutom sotsial'nogo progressa" [Taking the Route of Social Progress] by G. Dakhshleyger, corresponding member of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, Alma-Ata, izd-vo "Kazakhstan", 1978, 159 pages: "A Sharp Turn"]

[Text] A new book by corresponding member of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences G. Dakhshleyger acquaints the reader with the experience of social progress of the peoples of the Soviet East on the basis of materials of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia.

The process of the reorganization of the nomadic and seminomadic stockraising economy in the post-October epoch is examined on the basis of interesting factual materials, which served as the basis of deep, revolutionary changes in the economic and cultural life of the peoples of Central Asia.

The common characteristics of this phenomenon in our country are drawn by the author on the example of the process of settling of the nomads and seminomads. An extremely important role in the reorganization of the nomadic economy in Central Asia, including Kirgizia, was played by the first land and water reforms adopted in the 20's. They provided among other measures for the return to the indigenous population of lands confiscated by tsarism and assisting it in the transition to the settled way of life. The decrees also dealt with the limitation and in a number of cases with the liquidation of kulak colonizers and large cossack holdings while protecting the interests of the resettlers--the poor and those of average means. The author also deals with the question of class struggle proceeding in the process of the settling of the nomadic and seminomadic peasantry and presents examples of its different forms.

The system of rich landowners, both Kazakh and Kirgiz, was maintained for the most part on the basis of extensive, that is, quantitative rather than qualitative--stockraising and on the basis of the nomadic or seminomadic

way of life. This was not only due to its traditional conservatism. In defending the old, the system of rich landowners attempted first and foremost to retain the former ways in the village and the possibility of exploiting the poor.

In this connection, settling of the population became an extremely important factor in addition to others dictating the need for liquidation of the rich landowners as a class. It was a factor most closely connected to the productive cooperation of hundreds of thousands of the region's nomadic and seminomadic holdings.

Many pages in the book are devoted to the role of the working class in the reorganization of the stockraising economy. Agreements on technical production and cultural patronage of workers of the large industrial centers of Russia constituted one form of aid to the republics of the Soviet East.

After the victory of the kolkhoz system in Central Asia, there appeared and grew social groups connected with new vocations for the region. These included livestock specialists, tally clerks, bookkeepers, blacksmiths, welders, tractor operators, combine operators and others. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan, unemployment was completely liquidated and a large force of workers of socialist industry was being formed from former nomads and seminomads.

The drawing of tens of thousands of workers into industrial work contributed not only to the growth of industrial labor resources. It was also of tremendous social-political importance. The social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being strengthened in the republic. The union of the qualitatively new, friendly classes--the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry--was being raised to a new and higher level.

In a little over sixty years, the face of the Soviet East has changed beyond recognition thanks to the tremendous social and economic achievements. The formerly almost totally illiterate peoples of Central Asia now have their scientists, specialists in the national economy and a creative intelligentsia. A large portion of the population has acquired secondary or higher education. The peoples have achieved their own statehood; from one year to the next, the sovereign rights of the republics are being expanded and strengthened.

G. Dakhshleyger quite justly enunciates the thought that the model of settling of the nomads and seminomads in the USSR is by no means universal, but that there is no doubt that the Soviet experience, especially in the practice of settling of Kazakhs and Kirgiz nomads and seminomads, contains features that would be of interest to the peoples of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Together with the fundamental monographs issued in the last decade in the republics of the Soviet East, G.F. Dakhshleyger's book "Marshrutem sotsial'-nogo progressa," on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and with the help of copious statistic data of a concrete historical character, again confirms the fact that the settling of the nomadic and seminomadic population and the social-cultural progress of the peoples of Central Asia, achieved in friendly association with all the peoples under the leadership of the Communist Party, constitute a part of the very rich experience of economic and social building in the USSR, an experience that has become the heritage of the workers of the entire world.

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## PROBLEMS IN RESETTLING INHABITANTS OF 'LIQUIDATED' KIRGIZ VILLAGES

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 16 May 80 p 3

[Article by I. Demidov, chief of a department of Kirgizgiprozem Institute: "Problems to Be Solved in the Complex"]

[Text] SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA published an article in October of last year called "Prospects of 'Nonpromising' Villages." I as a specialist who is directly engaged in questions of settlement and resettlement of inhabitants from residential areas that are to be liquidated would like to continue this important conversation. I shall make an immediate reservation--resettlement is but part of a large and important problem involving the building and provision of public services and amenities, as well as the social development of the contemporary village. In the last 10 years, a number of decrees were adopted by the party and the government concerning these important questions. Their salutary influence can well be seen on the example of our republic. Capital investments of the state, kolkhozes and other enterprises have grown in the transformation of the village. The comprehensive building and provision of public services and amenities to a number of settlements of kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Kirgizia were noted at all-union review-competitions. Among them were Kyzyl-Dzhar Village of Leninskiy Rayon, Kara-Dzhigach Village and Leninskoye Village of Alamedinskiy Rayon, the central buildings of Kantskaya Machine Testing Station, Manas Village of Sokulukskiy Rayon and others.

But this does not mean by far that everything is well, clear and worked out in this big and complex work. Specialists have different, sometimes contradictory, opinions on these or those questions of settlement, building up of and provision of amenities for villages and of cultural and consumer services for their inhabitants. Our topic does not constitute an exception. Actually, to say what village is promising and which one is not or should be restricted in its further development at times is difficult.

Moreover, for a long time there was no precise or clear definition of what constitutes a rural settlement and whether nomadic camps, wintering locations, summer camps and temporary settlements of animal-husbandry workers, geologists, construction workers and others could be included under it.

For this reason the number of settlements in Kirgizia has fluctuated significantly. Thus, in 1959, there were counted more than five-thousand rural settlements and in 1970--more than two and a half thousand, while today there are barely more than two thousand. The decrease was due not only to elimination of small settlements but also because of a modified approach to the determination of a settlement.

It is not simply a matter of methodology. Frequently the question is whether or not to invest funds or to invest what kind of funds in the development of this or that settlement. There have been cases where they started to build a club or some other facility in some place and then froze it. It turned out that this settlement was unpromising.

To this day no single opinion exists among specialists in regard to the determination of the promisingness of settlements. Some people think that a settlement to be promising should have no less than 200 people or no less than 50 households. Others consider this point of view to be incorrect. Understandably, such discussions cannot help but have a negative effect on the whole work of improving the existing system of settlement in the republic. The beginning of this work goes back to the 1960's, but so far no exact number has been determined for promising or nonpromising settlements. Every time that such documentation is prepared there is a significant change in their number. In 1974, the number of promising settlements was set at 752 and that of nonpromising at 627, while in 1979, the figures were, respectively, 1,305 and 254.

This is no accident. The main problem lies in a mechanical, subjective approach to the determination of the future of this or that settlement. The determining factor should not be the number of inhabitants or the number of households but rather the production person of a brigade of a kolkhoz or a section of a sovkhoz. Here there must be taken into consideration the requirements of specialization, concentration and cooperation today going into the development of agriculture. Unfortunately, some specialists and leaders of local soviets do not take this into account.

Here is just one example. Kirgizgiprozem Institute, which is engaged in the settlement problem, offered to keep Gornaya Mayevka Village. It is the center for a brigade of Tash-Moynok Sovkhoz, which has good production prospects. But Alamedinskiy Rayispolkom was determined in demanding disbandment of Gornaya Mayevka. Only the determination of Tash-Moynokskiy Rural Soviet and the arguments of the institute's specialists made it possible to protect the future of the village.

As has already been mentioned, settlement materials based on the targets of the republic Ministry of Agriculture are prepared by Kirgizgiprozem Institute jointly with specialists of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and personnel of local soviets. The preparation of materials is only beginning; it is a major and important work. Subsequently, the people being resettled will

have to be allocated land plots in promising settlements and be provided with construction materials and monetary aid; contracting construction organizations will have to be determined.

Who will come to the aid of the people who are resettled? Who must provide aid to the people building houses in a new location? Today some people are trying to foist all these concerns on the republic Ministry of Agriculture, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Undoubtedly, they also have to assume a part of these concerns. But only a part. They have their own particular tasks--production of agricultural products. And they practically show no particular interest in the resettlement of inhabitants who do not work on a kolkhoz or sovkhoz. Even farm heads, to whom these problems are close to the heart, often cannot provide any serious aid. Even in providing construction materials, they bring them most inadequately to cooperative stores trading in these commodities.

Of questions of financing. Many rural soviets and farms intend in this five-year plan to eliminate small settlements. But where do you find funds, construction materials and contractors? It is true that technical industrial financial plans contain articles providing special funds in aid of resettlement but as a rule they cannot be used because of the absence at most settlements of general plans meeting modern requirements.

As of this year, sovkhozes themselves must conclude agreements with Kirgiz-Riprozem Institute for the development of general plans with their own funds. At the present time, for example, such contracts are being concluded with a number of farms—with sovkhozes Alamedin, imeni Kuybyshev, and Tash-Moynok of Alamedinskiy Rayon and with certain kolkhozes and associations of Zhivprom. A part of the work has already been completed, but there has been no settlement with clients due to an absence of clarity in the financing of design and planning work. This requires the preparation by the Ministry of Agriculture, Gosstroy, the Ministry of Finance and the Kirgiz Gosbank office of the necessary joint document, resolving all questions of financing of design and research work.

It should also be added that so far, as a rule, drafts of plans of construction are being worked out for main kolkhoz villages and central buildings. Brigade settlements of kolkhozes and central buildings of divisions of sovkhozes are waiting for their turn. At the same time, the problems of settlement and servicing of the rural population can be properly and comprehensively solved only in the case where they are examined straight off in all the settlements of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz.

Gosstroy SSSR is attempting to solve this problem through the development of a planning project for a single basic settlement, including in it such sections as intrafarm settlement. At the same time, in the collection of prices for planning work, funds are not provided for such sections.

In the article "Prospects of 'Nonpromising' Villages" it was pointed out that the development of general plans in the republic is being done simultaneously by three planning institutes located in Frunze and three of their branches located in Osh and that this contributes elements of disjointedness to the work. There should be added to this the difficulties existing in the fulfillment of topographic-geodetic and engineering-geological surveys for general plans and and control ties of specific facilities to the location. This has become a problem that is becoming more complicated from year to year.

Here is why. Several years ago there was organized under the republic Gosstroy a specialized institute of engineering research called KirgizGIZ, which was to have concentrated in itself all construction research. But with its organization this work became, in our opinion, unjustifiably complicated and underwent a two- to threefold increase in price and at the same time was not fulfilled on schedule. There exists in Kirgizia a second, more solid contractor, who could perform research work with greater application of the latest achievements of science and technology and therefore more quickly and with higher quality. But practically it is still not ready to do the research on the necessary scale and, more importantly, within the scheduled time; moreover expenses are also very high.

The cost of a complex of design and planning work for a single settlement fluctuates between 15,000 and 35,000 rubles, while Gosstroy SSSR allocates for Kirgiz SSR a total of not more than 110,000 rubles a year for this work.

At this time, it is impossible to correctly solve the settlement problem in an administrative rayon. It must be solved within a complex involving organization of territory, construction, cultural-consumer services and protection of nature and the environment. All these questions are interrelated in the scheme of rayon planning.

Of major importance are plans of settlement within the limits of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which determine the concrete measures relating to resettlement and the construction of promising settlements, including instructions on requirements for construction materials, funds, sources of financing, clients, contractors and work-performance schedules. At the same time, every rayon in the republic has a rayon planning plan, not to speak of plans for kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Other questions of economic, engineering and social-demographic character also exist; their solution determines the correctness of the solution of the problem of resettlement and construction in the village. Many of them could be solved efficiently and comprehensively if there existed a state organ that handled only these questions. In the 1950's, there was a specialized administration with such functions and rights. But now either at the center or locally in the republic there is practically no one responsible for the resettlement of inhabitants and for construction in the village.

In this connection, it would appear that the newspaper is right in setting the task of establishment of an administration for resettlement and construction in the village and not only assigning to it duties but also giving it corresponding rights to solve this problem on a state basis.

There are still many unclear questions in management of the problem of settlement and resettlement. It would be good to have with respect to them exchanges of opinions at a special republic conference to which there would be invited a broad aktiv from central union organs and scientific institutions as well as specialists from other republics. This problem deserves a great deal of attention.

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ABKHAZ CHURCH ACCUSED OF SQUANDERING BELIEVERS' MONEY

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 May 80 p 4

(Article by ZARYA VOSTOKA special correspondent T. Ambarova: "For the Sake of Profit Alone")

(Text) It is an unusual letter. The writer, a resident of Ilori village in Uchanchirskiy Rayon named Dzhodzho Gobechiya, harshly accuses the members of the Church Council (executive organ of a religious association, consisting of a chairman and two members), its founders and even the Representative Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers for the Abkhaz ASSR of squandering the believers' money and feeding at a convenient trough.

An indisputable fact is cited. Toma Bokuchava, a former chairman of the Ilori Church Council, once embezzled 6,783 rubles of church funds. Years have passed since he was tried in the village clubhouse, and he is still paying off the debt according to the writ of execution.

The ardent "champion" of truth and the believers' interests, Dzh. Gobechiya, forgot to mention one detail. At one time, when the officer of the court transferred T. Bokuchava's house and part of his property to the Church Council to compensate for the loss he caused, according to the court decision, the council and the review board, of which Dzh. Gobechiya was then a member, voluntarily left them in the condemned man's possession.

What was this, a humanitarian act, or understanding of the money grubber and sympathy for him? Who is without sin, they say. The writer of the letter often sinned himself. He was convicted of larceny. He served a sentence of several years. This did not prevent him from becoming a member of the Church Council, then chairman of the review board, and later a seller of candles, crosses and other religious articles in the Ilori church.

There he displayed the greatest personal initiative. For example, he sold crosses costing 1.5 rubles for 5 rubles apiece. The members of the Church Council caught him in flagrant speculation and drew up reports. Investigation revealed that the whole sum of so-called candle money embezzled by Dzh.

Gobechiya amounted to 889 rubles. After he refused to pay back the money he was removed from the post of candleman.

Having lost his income, Dzh. Gobechiya became restless and began to write complaints and to accuse others of self-interest and abuses. But it was not he alone. Villagers D. Gvindzhiliya, A. Gobechiya, V. Kvaratskheliya, Ye. Chkadaua, S. Dzalamidze and others wrote along with him. There were 64 signatures under one of the complaints. Criminologists determined that three or four persons wrote them.

But what do these people want, and what are they trying to accomplish?

For a long time the Ilori church has been a lure for avaricious persons trying to profit by the gifts it receives. And the gifts are generous. The parishioners of no other church in Abkhaziya bring it livestock as a sacrifice, but they bring it here, not only from the closest villages but also from distant ones. It is hard to say now why it is with the Ilori church that so many superstitions of pagan origin are associated. It is clear only that they come here not merely to worship but also to buy divine favor and help in their affairs and undertakings. Some bring a goat or a ram with them and some even a bull a cow, or a buffalo. If the request is serious, the payment must be heavier.

Like manna from heaven the gifts fell into the hands of the chairman and members of the Church Council and its founders (the so-called twenty), and not only theirs. Some Ilorians lived free as the birds in the heavens that neither sow nor reap. Why sow, reap or work in a kolkhoz if it is possible to sit by the church gateway guarding the offerings and return home with the loot, or even to eat one's fill in the open air. Every day animals were slaughtered here and their carcasses were skinned. Fires burned hot, and steaming meat was boiled in more than one or two kettles.

Here they ate and drank without limit. Having partaken rather well of liquor, they revealed their attitudes, cursed and fought. To the smell of food was added that of decay from the discarded remnants of food. The sanitary inspectors were horrified at what they saw and wrote their reports with hands trembling with anger and weakness.

The orgy of gluttony, greed and parasitism had to be checked, but how? A simple and reasonable solution was found. They succeeded, although not immediately, in persuading the members of the Church Council to turn over all the incoming livestock to the state and to transfer the money obtained for it to the church's current account in the bank.

The new arrangement by no means suited everyone. It was necessary to change the tactics, to manage to conceal the pursuit of plunder while engaged in it, and at the same time to try to return to the old system of complaining noisily that things were bad around Ilori church.

The documents concerning the events in connection with the embezzlement of money and livestock coming into Ilori church contain much that is interesting.

In March 1975 one G. Cholariya made a difficult trip from Bediya village to Ilori, although they are located in the same rayon. It was difficult because he was heavily burdened. Besides a saddledhorse he was also driving a buffalo with calf, a lamb and a kid. He was very anxious to please the Almighty. Obviously he had important business with Him. He left all his offerings in the church and set out on the return trip.

Night was darkening the sleeping village when A. Kantsba, the chairman of the Church Council, and B. Dzhobava, the church sexton, appeared in the church. They divided up the five head of livestock and led them home. One of them got the horse with a saddle and bridle and the buffalo calf and the other got the buffalo, the lamb and the kid.

The miscreants succeeded in concealing the theft for 8 days, until one of the believers reported it. Cholariya's gifts were found with the help of a police worker and the appropriate documents were drawn up.

Having taken an interest in A. Kantsba's "activity," the prosecutor's office determined that between 1 July 1974 and 2 May 1975 he had written off a total of 2,488 rubles of church funds according to defective documents.

They were long accustomed to take from the church trough with no intention of giving back, although sometimes they tried to preserve a semblance of decency by saying it was on credit. There is a letter of the late Sukhumi-Abkhaz bishop Leonid wherein he complains that the former chairman of the Ilori Rural Soviet, Ernst Penderava, took 500 rubles from the former senior churchwarden, G. Dzhavakhadze, under a receipt and did not repay it, that he grossly interfered in church affairs, and that he supported dissatisfied persons. The commission checked the complaint and was convinced it was all true, and new details were revealed.

The lovers of easy gain were so anxious to make a profit that they did not stop at an occasional crime. The senior churchwarden G. Dzhavakhadze was a particular victim. One time B. Sheliya, a resident of Ilori village, assaulted him with an ax and requested a loan from the church sometime later. At various times he obtained 2,000 rubles of church funds. Another time somebody set off an explosion on the veranda of the house where the senior churchwarden lived.

According to the commission's findings, for purposes of establishing order in Ilori Rural Soviet E. Penderava cleaned it out with a strict party penalty.

All this happened in past years. But the apple of discord itself, the church incomes (in cash and property and from livestock), remains although much has changed since then. The profiteers cannot resist this attractive magnet. A soul craving gratuitous acquisitions cannot rest content. It cannot reconcile itself to the fact that under the present situation there is no possibility of pilfering property from the church.

In the spring of 1978 the dissidents requested that a new body of founders be convened (the twenty). Their request was not granted, and they held a

by-election. The "twenty" did not include people who had once been in the body and had been expelled for distrust. The rural believers had sufficient reasons for distrusting them.

We are already acquainted with Dzhodzho Gobechiya. But there are others. Akakiy Gobechiya had served a sentence for abuse of office. Volodya Kvaratskheliya was caught in an attempt to steal money in the church. Yermolay Chkadaua had served a sentence for a heinous crime and had been discharged from work in the church for speculating in candles, Khukhuti Meboniya had served a sentence for larceny...

There are enough malcontents pilfering church property. Their bitterness is of no concern. Here they are pouring out bile and bitterness at losses on those whom they consider guilty of the established barriers, because Ilori village has become clean and quiet and law and order are being asserted more and more. For the last 10 years they have kept writing complaints to the Representative Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers for the Abkhaz ASSR and to Veteran of the Great Patriotic War A. Lagvilava and the executive organs of the autonomous republic. They accuse him of embezzling church funds and valuables. As they say, from a sick head they fall upon a healthy one. And they have also written our editorial board.

The front-line veteran had to defend himself. His position was an unfavorable one. He wrote explanations to the authorities. Then he lost patience and demanded: "Let the prosecutor's office study the facts set forth in the complaints. If I am guilty of something, criminal proceedings must be instituted against me. If I am not guilty, let the writers answer to the law for slander." The prosecutor's office investigated the charges against him 3 times and was convinced 3 times that they have no basis in fact.

In one of the reports to the Abkhaziya Council of Ministers the prosecutor of the autonomous republic and state counselor of justice third class (now chairman of the Abkhaziya Supreme Court), M. Argun, wrote that "All the plaintiffs without exception are of extreme old age as well as semiliterate or illiterate. Therefore I do not consider it expedient to institute criminal proceedings against them, especially since they have all been warned by us." This was written in 1973. Time showed that the warning did not help. Old age is no indulgence granting absolution for all past and future sins. It does not give Dzhodzho Gobechiya and his confederates the right to forgiveness for all or the right to drag those around them into the past with those who prospered in it by the anarchy of self-interest and greed.

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